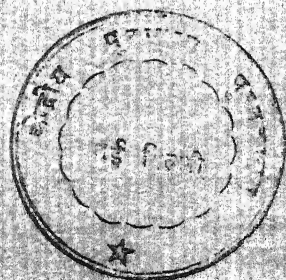


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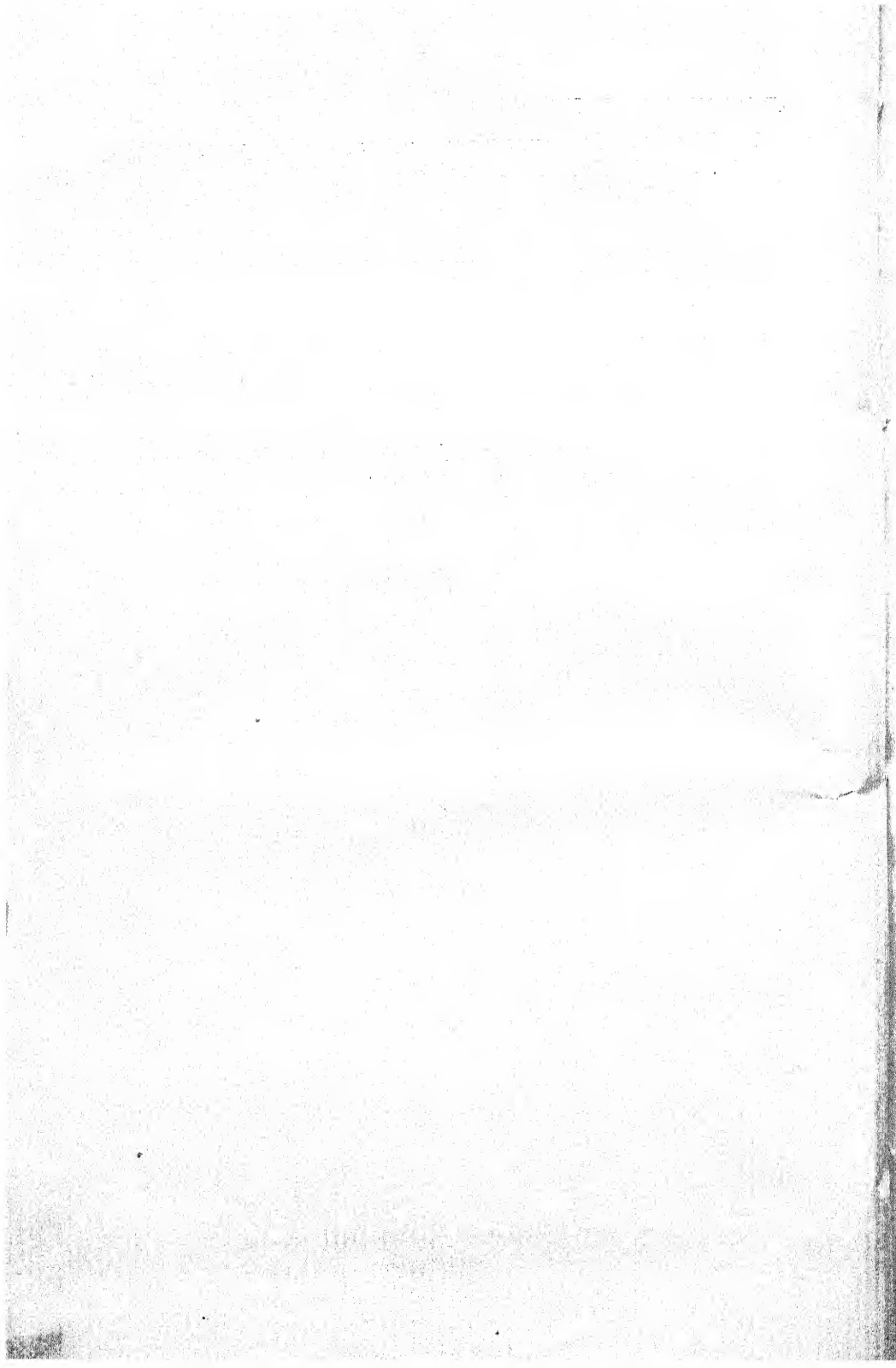
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TOWARD IDENTIFICATION OF UNTOUCHABLE GROUPS
IN ANCIENT INDIA, AS ENUMERATED IN
SANSKRIT LEXICONS

PRABHATI MUKHERJEE

I

In order to find out the origin and development of the social phenomenon of untouchability in ancient India, the present study undertakes an examination of the definitions and other evidence, as given in Sanskrit lexicons, regarding a group of people commonly known as *caṇḍāla*-s. This group of people was probably one of the oldest that existed in ancient times and is still identifiable in some places of India. Those who formed this group were and still are supposed to be "untouchables". As a starting point, therefore, a study of this particular group, based on the lexical materials, is certainly useful and, moreover, it is also likely to lead us to other similar groups, thus making the future task of identification of "untouchables" easier.

Without going into the historical and sociological factors leading to their degradation in society, we find that *caṇḍāla*-s are condemned *en bloc* and are considered to be the lowest and the most despised caste in the social hierarchy (Joshi 1941.III. 52 of Index ; *Manusmṛti* X. 12, 16, 26, 51-56, & c.). Their social ostracism attracted the notice of Fa-Hien, the Chinese traveller who visited India between 400-415 A.D. and recorded his observations regarding the *kaṇḍāla*-s and their pitiable plight (Beal 1869 : 55). But who were the *caṇḍāla*-s ? Some are of the opinion that *caṇḍāla* was the name of a race or a tribe in ancient India (Fick 1920 : 317 ; Kosambi 1955 : 64 ; Sharma 1966 : 50). But is *caṇḍāla* a specific nomenclature applied to a single race, tribe or caste only ? Or, is it also a general one, containing several castes/groups with similar or different status ?

Accordingly, a study of Sanskrit dictionaries has been made as a preliminary guide to find out about *caṇḍāla*-s and other similar castes/groups, because, while explaining a particular word, they give its synonyms like explaining *divākīrti* with *nāpita*, both terms standing for a barbar. Or, one may find in the dictionaries that *caṇḍāla* is explained by homonyms like *divākīrti* and *sūta*, who were different in occupation and/or origin. From an examination of these castes and otherwise identified lowly placed social groups (if and when mentioned by a particular

author), one may therefore try to find out whether the dictionaries reveal any change in the status-order among them. Also, there may be variation among the dictionaries in the treatment of the subject or complete agreement. That would obviously reflect the social situation current at the time of compilation of a particular dictionary ; that is, the attitude prevalent in society towards *caṇḍāla* and similar castes/groups.

To be sure, the lacunae in between these dictionaries will have to be supplemented later with materials from other sources, explaining the actiology of untochability of *caṇḍāla*-s and others. But this preliminary work is likely to indicate the historical periods and the type of literatures to concentrate upon for that purpose. These dictionaries, therefore, have been arranged chronologically, as far as possible. They are spread out over a period of c. 1500 years, and the time gap between the two consecutive dictionaries, except the first one and the last two, is of about c. three to five centuries. Admittedly, their dating is not exact and sometimes the complete version of a dictionary is not available ; e.g., the *Śāsvatakoṣa* which is characterised as incomplete or *khandakoṣa* (Kulkarni 1929 : 1). Nevertheless, from these dictionaries an attempt may be made to record some initial observations on *caṇḍāla* and allied social groups which definitely formed an important segment of the social structure in ancient India.

In light of the importance allotted to them by the indologists and their relevance to the subject under reference, six dictionaries have been selected for the present study. Their sequence for the present purpose is, however, related to time only. Along with their abbreviations used for this paper, they are sequentially enumerated as : *Śāsvatakoṣa* or *Anekārthasamuccaya* (SK), *Amarakoṣa* (AK), *Halāyudhakoṣa* or *Abhidhāna-ratnamāla* (HK) *Medinikoṣa* (MK) *Vāchaspatyam* (VP) and *Śabdakalpadruma* (SKD). The ensemble of the six provides useful information within the compass of the oldest known dictionary, the SK, and the latest SKD which was compiled as late as in 1846. Since the SKD and the VP are relatively modern, they present a comprehensive picture of the latest situation (i.e., up to the middle of the nineteenth century). They have also the advantage to draw upon and sum up all the earlier information.

II

1. The *Śāsvatakoṣa* is probably older than the *Amarakoṣa* and is supposed to be the oldest homonymous extant Sanskrit dictionary (Macdonell 1962 : 368 ; Zachariae 1897 : 24). In this, names of 8 castes/groups are found, which are equated to (and/or include) *caṇḍāla* directly or indirectly. They are : *antāvasāyin*, *cāṇḍāla*, *nāpita*, *jananggama*,

divākīrti, *plava*, *mātanga* and *śvapaca* (SK. 482, 277, 737, 611). In this dictionary the word is always *cāṇḍāla* and not *caṇḍāla*. The mention of *divākīrti* and *nāpita* indicates the presence of an occupational group of barber and probably *jananggama* also does the same (SK. 277). The occupation of the other 6 castes/groups (or 5, if *jananggama* stands for a barber) is not clear.

2. The *Amarakoṣa* was composed not later than the 6th century A.D. As a complete Sanskrit dictionary, this is probably the oldest and the most important (Kosambi 1955 : 57 ; Macdonell 1962 : 368 ; Zachariae 1897 : 11). On the basis of the information contained in the AK, a set of 10 castes/groups are indentified, one of which is explained by four other names. The ten castes/social groups are *caṇḍāla*, *plava*, *mātanga*, *divākīrti*, *jananggama*, *niśāda*, *śvapaca*, *antevāsin*, *cāṇḍāla* and *pukkas*, (AK I. 10. 19-20). Out of these 10, *divākīrti* is subdivided into *kṣurīṇ*, *mundīṇ*, *nāpita* and *antāvasāyin* (AK. II. 10. 10). Noticeably, 6 new names are included in the AK, viz., *niśāda*, *pukhasa*, *antevāsin*, *kṣurīṇ* and *mundi*. Another group of people was *caṇḍāla* also equated to. They were *icrāta śayara* and *pulinda*, commonly known as *mlechha* (AK. II. 10. 20).

We find that an occupational group of barber, same as in the SK, is also indicated here, which consisted of *divākīrti*, *nāpita*, *kṣurīṇ*, *mundīṇ* and *antāvasāyin*. These names may denote specialisation of work among barbers or they are merely synonymous. Granting that *jananggama* is synonymous with *nāpita*, as it was in the SK, the occupation of the remaining 8, namely, *caṇḍāla*, *cāṇḍāla*, *plava*, *mātanga*, *niśāda*, *śvapac*, *antevāsin* and *pukkas*, is not known. Truly, the two terms, *caṇḍāla* and *cāṇḍāla*, are not conclusive towards the identification of one or two caste (s) or group (s). Similarly. inconclusive are the other two names of *antevāsin* and *antāvasāyin*. While the former belongs to the group of 10 castes, the latter appears to be synonymous with a barber.

3. The *Halāyudhakoṣa* belongs to the early or later part of 10th. century A. D. (DCB. : 8 ; Macdonell 1962 : 368 ; Zachariae 1897 : 26) and is the best synonymous dictionary in Sanskrit (Zachariae 1897 : 5). As synonymous with *caṇḍāla*, it mentions : *antāvasāyin*, *caṇḍāla*, *niśāda*, *jananggama*, *śvapaca*, *pukkaśa*, *mātanga* and *plavaka*, as based on the authority of the *smṛti*-s (HK, 598). Two castes enumerated in the AK, are not to be found here. They are : *cāṇḍāla* and *divākīrti*. Elsewhere, however, *divākīrti* was equated to *kṣuramardīn*, *caṇḍila* (var, lect, *caṇḍāla*) and *nāpita* (HK. 289, 814), which indicates that the same occupational group of barber was present here also. Instead of *pukhasa* and *plava* of the AK, the HK has *pakkaśa* and *plavaka*, which were probably the same. People forming the *mlechha* group and belonging to the special type of *caṇḍāla* in the AK, viz., *kirāta*, *śabara* and *pulinda*,

were also *mlechha* in the HK, But whether or not they were *caṇḍāla* is not known. They were called *antaṇḍāti* by Halāyudha and their number increased by 5 new names : *niṣṭya*, *nāhala*, *bhata*, *māla* and *bhilla* (HK. 599). Thus, the two categories of *caṇḍāla* and *antaṇḍāti* in the HK contain 15 castes/groups, i.e., 7 under the first and 8 under the second. As in the other two, the occupation of all these castes is not described in this lexicon also.

4. The *Medinikoṣa* is placed in the time perspective between the end of 12th or 14th century A.D. (MK preface : 6 ; DCB. : 9 ; Zachariae 1897 : 36). The MK is not very informative regarding *caṇḍāla* and similar castes/groups. A few familiar names, however, occur in it, like *caṇḍāla*, *śvapaca*, etc. The MK equates *śvapaca* to *pukkasa*, and includes *kirāta* and *śabara* under *mlechha* (MK. tantavargaḥ 104 ; rantavargaḥ 219). The MK is also quoted to explain the *antāvasāyin* as *śvapaca* and *nāpita* (Trikaṇḍaśeṣa III. 227). The only significant fact in the MK is its treatment of *dhīvara* which it equates to *caṇḍāla* while explaining *niṣāda* (MK. dantavargaḥ 34). For, both the AK and HK treat the *kaivarta*, *dāsa* and *dhīvara* as belonging to the fishermen category only (AK. I. 10. 15 ; HK. 594).

5. Now we come to the last two lexicons, namely, the SKD and VP, which were composed in the middle/ later part of the nineteenth century. In these two dictionaries we notice that the lexicographers not only depended on their predecessors for definitions, synonyms or homonyms of particular word, but elaborated it further by adding new information to the existing ones. It is noticed that as time went on the list of *caṇḍāla* and allied castes/groups acquired new names and retained or discarded some of the former ones. Gradually the situation crystalized and finer subdivisions emerged among these people, which was noticed first in the SKD.

The *Śabdakalpadruma* was compiled in 1846. This dictionary reproduces all the castes/groups noted in the AK in connection with the *caṇḍāla* (SKD. II. 418, only *caṇḍāla* is omitted here). The SKD states that *jalanggama* (probably the same as *jananggama*) is *cāṇḍāla* according to the AK (SKD. II. 522), and *divākīrti* is *nāpita* as well as *caṇḍāla* (SKD. II. 711). *Niṣāda* is regarded to be the same as *caṇḍāla* according to the AK and as *dhīvara* according to the MK (SKD. II. 902). *Śvapaca* is synonymous with *caṇḍāla* after the AK, and known as *antāvasāyin* (SKD. V. 176), while *dhīvara* is equated to *kaivarta* according to the AK (SKD, II. 798), *Mātanga* is *kirāta* according to the commentator of the AK, but *śvapaca* according to the MK, and *plava* is synonymous with *śvapaca* (SKD. III. 691, 376). The SKD treats a *pukkasa* as *caṇḍāla* (SKD. III. 162-163), an *antāvasāyin* as *caṇḍāla* as well as *nāpita* (SKD. I. 55), and an *antevāsīn* also as *caṇḍāla* (*ibid*). *Kirāta* and *śabara* belong

to the *mlecha jāti* (SKD II. 128 ; V. 37), and *pulinda*-another of the *mlechha* trio-is *caṇḍāla* (SKD. III. 198).

So far the SKD does not show any noticeable departure from others regarding the identification of the previously mentioned castes/groups belonging to the congregation of *caṇḍāla*-s. Coming to their categorization and enumeration, however, the SKD reveals a significant fact.

We have already remarked that the HK, grouped 8 castes/groups headed by the *antāvāsāyin* under one category and included 8 *mlechha* groups under the other of *antajāti*. The SKD similarly rearranged 14 castes/groups under the two categories of *antyaja* and *antyāvasāyin*. The *antyaja* was equated to *śūdra* and, by quoting Yama, to 7 other *jāti*-s belonging to the "washerman/dyer" category (*rajakādi saptajātayoh*) : *rajaka* (washerman/dyer), *carmakāra* (leatherworker), *nata* (actor/dancer), *carudha*, *kaivarta* (fisherman), *meda* and *bhilla* (SKD. I. 55 : IV. 275). Noticeably, the first three castes belonging to this category, viz., *rajaka*, *carmakāra* and *nata* were also mentioned in the AK and HK. but not as belonging to any group (AK. II. 10. 10, 7, 12 : HK. 593, 596, 592). The *kaivarta* belonged to the fishermen group both in the AK and HK, and *bhilla* was one of the 8 *antajāti*-s in the HK.

The *antyāvasāyin* category on the other hand, deals with the *caṇḍāla* and other synonymous castes/groups, as is evident from the phrase *cāṇḍālādi saptajātayoh* (SKD I. 55). Angiras was quoted in this context and the group of *antyāvasāyin* is found to contain the same number of 7 *jāti*-s : *cāṇḍāla*, *śvapaca*, *kṣattā*, *sūta*, *vaidehaka*, *māgadha* and *āyogava* (SKD I. 55).

Under the category of *antyāvasāyin*, two names are familiar to us, which have been equated to *caṇḍāla* in the previous lexicons too. They are *caṇḍāla* and *śvapaca*, whose presence is noticed from the SK. onwards. Negatively because of the absence of any contrary statement and positively because of the etymology of the names, we may assume that *cāṇḍāla*, and *caṇḍāla* are either synonymus or homonymous. There is also the suggestion (to be verified later) from other literatures that while the word *cāṇḍāla* was used in earlier times (e.g., Apastambiyadharma-sutram I. 3. 9. 15 : Bṛhadāranyakopanishada IV. 3. 274. 22, etc.), the word *caṇḍāla* became more frequent later.

It may be pointed out that some of the other names belonging to this category are found in the SK, AK. and HK too, but not as synonymous with *caṇḍāla*. On the contrary, the AK. includes *kṣattā*, *māgadha* and *sūta* under *kṣatriya*-s, and *vaideha* under *vaiśya*-s (AK. II. 8. 59, 97 ; III. 3. 63). The SK. and HK. also mention them, but not as

equivalents to *caṇḍāla* (SK. 276, 321, 316, 346 ; HK. 435, 449, 424, 571). None of these three dictionaries, however, mentions *āyogava*.

6. The *Vāchaspatyam* was composed sometime after 1870. Here we come across some of those names which were already present in other lexicons. For instance, *divākīrti* present in all these four) is equivalent to *nāpita* according to Amara and *caṇḍāla* according to Hema (VP. V. 3586), *Jananggama* denotes *caṇḍāla* (VP. IV. 3019), and *kirāta* a low caste (*nīca jāti*, VP. III. 2059). *Niṣāda* is *caṇḍāla*, and *śabara* is *mlechha*, according to Amara (VP. V. 5158 ; VI. 5060). Both *śvapaca* and *pulinda* are *cāṇḍāla* (VP. V. 5158, 4381).

On *mātanga* and *pukkasa*, however, it registers a difference. *Mātanga* was equated to *śvapaca* in the AK and HK, but in the VP. *mātanga* is a different kind of *kirāta*, or a Jaina, according to Hema (VP. VI. 4747). Similarly, *pukkasa*/*pakkaśa* is one of the 10 and 8 caste/groups in the AK and HK, respectively, whereas a *pulkasa* in the VP (not *pukkasa*/*pakkaśa*) belongs to the *saṃkīrṇa varṇa* (VP. V. 4381, meaning thereby a "mixed varṇa" probably).

On the categorization of *antyaja* and *antyāvasāyin* (it is *antavasāyin* here), the VP. agrees with the SKD. The *antyaja* is equated to *śudra* and *caṇḍāla*, and also to the same 7 *jāti*-s as in the SKD. The *Atrisamhita* is cited as an authority on this, add the *śloka* was the same as was quoted in the SKD. from the *Yamasmṛti* (VP. I. 207). Similarly occurs the *antavasāyin śloka* (same as *antyāvasāyin* of the SKD.) with the same 7 names (the first being *caṇḍa* instead of *caṇḍāla*) and with reference to the same authority, namely, Angiras (VP. VI. 5158).

III

The evidence in the six dictionaries shows that all these people who are made synonymous or homonymous with *caṇḍāla* may be classified under four categories as (1) *mlechha*—a generic term used by the lexicographers to denote a number of people, (2) occupational—apparent from their names or explained in one of the lexicons, (3) mixed *varṇa*-s—the names and position of which are determined by the pure *varṇa*-wise classification of their parents and which was described in one or more lexicons, and (4) unidentified—which does not fit in any of the above categories. Let us examine the constituents of these categories.

1. The *mlechha* category consists of three names, viz., *kirāta*, *śabara* and *pulinda*, who were treated as *caṇḍāla* and were first mentioned in the AK. The first two were also mentioned in the MK under the generic term of *mlechha*. In the HK, however, five more names were added to the above three of the AK, namely, *nāhala*, *niṣṭya*, *māla*, *bhaṭa*

and *bhilla*, and they were referred to as *antajāti* and not *caṇḍāla*. Details of these people are given in the SKD. The *nāhala*-s live on the top of mountains and belonging to *mlechhajāti* (SKD. II. 874), the *niṣṭya* is a *mlechha* who went out of the *varṇasrama* system (*ibid.*, 905), *māla* also a *mlechha*, whose name occurred in the *Mahābhārata* VI. 9, 39 (SKD III. 711). The *bhata* is a different kind of *mlechha* and is also a mixed *varṇa* whose parentage is not clear (*ibid.*, 477), and *bhilla* is a *mlechha* and a mixed *varṇa* having a *tivara* (hunter) as father and the daughter of a *brāhmaṇa* as mother (*ibid.*, 512). The dresses of *kirāta* and *śabara* are described (SKD V. 37), and also the occupation of the former, as derived from their names (SKD. II. 128). As regards the origin of *pulinda*, the SKD refers to chapter 73 of the *Vāmanapurāṇa* (SKD III. 198 ; *Vāmanapurāṇa* 50. 25-26).

2. Under the occupational category, the oldest is the barber group which comprised names of like *divākīrti*, *nāpita*, *kṣurīṇ*, *mundīṇ*, *kṣura-mardīn* and *antāvasāyīn* in the SK, AK, HK, and MK. The two names are recorded as early as in the SK, and the SKD explains the first as referring to those who perform their duties during the day (SKD II. 711). The identification of barbers with *cāṇḍāla* is clearly recorded in the SK, AK, HK and probably also in the MK ; but, later, it is dropped from the list of *caṇḍāla*-s in both SKD and VP, although it is mentioned there by way of quotation from the AK. In the SKD and VP there is no mention of the barbar group in reference to the *antyaja* also.

The next cluster forming occupational group is composed of fishermen. Their names are *kaivarta*, *dāsa* and *dhivara*, which are probably synonymous and were first enumerated by Amara and was followed by Halāyudha. They formed as a separate group and Amara or Halāyudha never equated any one of them to *caṇḍāla*. But the MK equated *dhivara* to *niṣāda* and *caṇḍāla*. Another occupational group, also not equated to *caṇḍāla*, is indicated by the *antyaja* category in the SKD and VP which was formed by including several castes/groups from other previously mentioned groups as well as some other new occupational castes with self-evident names. For instance, *kaivarta* from the fishermen group (as found in the AK, HK and MK) and *bhilla* from the *mlechha* group of the HK alone) were placed along with *rajuko*, *armukāra* and *nata*, which were evidently occupational castes.

3 The mixed *varṇa* category is composed of sons born in inter-marriage among the four *varṇa*-s, and called *saṃkīrṇa* (mixed) by Amara (AK. II. 10. 1). They are referred to as *anuloma* sons when born of *anuloma* (hypergamous marriages, or as *pratiloma* sons if born of *pratiloma* (hypogamous) marriages. In the K the number of mixed *varṇa* sons who were equated to *cāṇḍāla* were two, namely, *cāṇḍāla* (under the assumption that *cāṇḍāla* of the SK may be equated to *caṇḍāla* and

śvapacaa ; in the AK and HK it was increased by one more, viz., *pukkasa/pakkasa*. In the SKD and VP the number of mixed *varṇa* children became seven, namely, *caṇḍāla*, *śvapacaa*, *kṣattā*, *sūta*, *māgadha*, *vaidehaka* and *āyogava*.

Their parentage is described as follows : 1) a *caṇḍāla* is the son of a *śūdra* father and *brāhmaṇa* mother (AK. II, 10. 4 ; SKD II. 418; VP. IV. 2849), about which there is no contradiction in these three lexicons. (2) The SKD explains the parentage of a *śvapacaa* as having a *kṣattu* father and *ugra* mother, as given in the *Manusmṛti* X. 13 (SKD V. 176). (3) A *pukkasa* is born of a *niṣāda* father and *śūdra* mother (SKD. III. 162-163), and a *niṣāda* was equated to a *vaiśya* (SKD II. 902). According to the VP, his father was a *brāhmaṇa* and mother a *kṣatriya* (VP V. 4381). (4) A *kṣattā* (var. lect. *kṣattu*/ *kṣattr*/*kṣatta* ?) is an issue of a *śūdra* father and *kṣatriya* mother (SK 316 ; AK. III. 3. 63 ; but in AK II. 10. 3, Amara mentioned *vaiśya* as mother, see also AK II. 9. 1, where an *ārya* is synonymous with *vaiśya* ; SKD II. 226 ; VP. III. 2358). (5) A *sūta* was born of a *kṣatriya* father and *brāhmaṇa* mother (SK 276 ; AK. II. 10. 3 : SKD V. 392 ; VP VI, 5325 : SD. suggests alternatively a *śūdra* father and *kṣatriya* mother, SK. 276) (6) A *māgadha* has a *vaiśya* as father and *kṣatriya* as mother (AK II. 10. 2 ; SKD III. 686 ; VP VI. 4747). (7) A *vaidehaka* is born of a *vaiśya* father and *brāhmaṇa* mother (SK. 346 : AK II, 10. 3 ; SKD IV. 512 ; alternatively, he may be born of a *śūdra* father and *vaiśya* mother, SK 346 ; Medini, as quoted in SKD IV. 512 ; VP. VI. 4973), and (8) and *āyogava* of a *śūdra* father and *vaiśya* mother (SKD I. 187 ; VP. I. 793 ; see also Kane II. 1. pp. 73, 79, 81, 88, 90, 95, 97-99, etc.).

As to the occupations of some of them, the SK, AK and HK agree completely. A *sūta* was a bard or charioteer (SK. 276 ; AK. II. 8. 59 ; 435, 449), a *māgadha* also a bard (SK. 321 ; AK. II. 8. 97 ; HK. 435), HK. *kṣatta* a door-keeper or charioteer (SK. 316; AK. II. 8. 59 ; III. 3. 63 ; HK 424), and a *vaidehaka*, *vaideha* was unanimously a trader (SK 346 ; AK II. 9. 78 ; HK 571).

4. To the category of unidentified belong such names as *jananggama*, *plava*, *mātanga*, *antevāsin* and *niṣāda*. The first three names occur in the SK, AK and HK, and the SKD explains *jananggama* (or *jalanggama* as it is stated there) as those who go to water reservoirs/resources situated at the end or outside of a village (SKD II. 522). We should bear in mind, of course, that if *jananggama* refers to a group different from *jalanggama*, the above explanation will not hold for the former. Such a distinction, however, is not indicated. As to the *antevāsin*, it first appears in the AK, and the SKD explains it as those living at the

end of or outside a village (SKD I. 55) ; that is, the *antevāsin-s* are similarly placed as *jananggama* (or *jalanggama*)³.

A *niṣāda* is mentioned for the first time in the AK. In the HK also it is one of the equivalents to *caṇḍāla* and the MK equates it to *dhivara* and *caṇḍāla*. The SKD, on the other hand, mentions the views of the AK and MK, and equates the *niṣāda* to *śvapaca* and *kirāta*. Further interesting information about this group of people are given in this particular lexicon. It explains the birth of the *niṣāda-s* from the mythical king Vena and traces their descent from the *asura-s*. Etymologically, the SKD explains the *niṣāda-s* as those who live at the end of a village and in whose midst sin resides. They are born in a place known as *puskara* and are worshippers of the Sun god (SKD II. 902). Interestingly enough, although they are equated to *caṇḍāla* by all the lexicographers, the SKD considers them as *vaiśya-s*.

IV

Barring the information given in the HK and SKD, the other four dictionaries do not show any great variation among *caṇḍāla-s* and allied people. Obviously, as time went on new names were added to the list of *caṇḍāla-s*, but the occupational group of barbers, fishermen and *mlechha-s*, people with unexplained names like *jananggama*, *plava-mātanga*, *niṣāda*, and the names of some mixed *varṇa* children were present all along. In course of time, however, the barber and the fishermen groups were dropped out, unless we consider the *antāvasāyin* in the HK representing the barbers as it did the AK. Possibly, the *mlechha-s* also were excluded as is evident from the enumeration of *antajāti* in the HK.

Three lexicons out of the six, viz., the AK, HK and the SKD, contain information which may be considered as landmarks in the history of *caṇḍāla-s* in ancient India. Previously, in the SKD and more elaborately in the AK, it was more of an enumeration and listing of *caṇḍāla* and similar castes/groups than anything else. It was first in the HK that an attempt is noticed to bring order in an otherwise confusing situation regarding *caṇḍāla* and its synonyms. Two mutually exclusive categories emerged, one comprising what appears to be tribal people alone and the other—possibly the lowest—the *caṇḍāla* and its equivalents. As to the principle underlying this division, whatever else may be the basis of it, occupation does not appear to be the guiding factor. While the *caṇḍāla* category contains almost all the previously known castes groups, the *antajāti* includes several new names of unknown occupations and origin, among which a preponderance of tribal names (at least which became so later on) does not escape our attention.

The SKD appears to be more specific and systematized. In spite of a superficial identity in the name and number of castes/groups under each category, the character of categorization in the two lexicons was not the same. The *antajāti* category of the HK probably assumed the name of *antya* in the SKD and enlisted more occupational groups, leaving aside the tribal ones. Some of them have eponymous caste identifications like *rajaka*, *carmakāra*, etc. Significantly, most of the people belonging to this category have such occupations that needed constant interaction with the four *varṇa*-s in society. This shows that the factor of occupation was taken into account while establishing this category in society. The *antyāvasāyin* category, on the other hand, contains those names which were given to the children of *pratiloma* marriage, and *śvapaca* only. An examination of its membership shows the presence of an overwhelming number of *pratiloma* sons and the corresponding absence of other constituents hitherto present in all other lexicons.

These two clear-cut divisions have been well fortified in the SKD with the names of sages and *śāstra*-s, which tend to strengthen their antiquity and authenticity. The *antya* category⁴ seems to have been already familiar in society, since it was based on the authority of the *smṛti*-s and sanctioned by lawgivers like Atri, Yama, etc., (*Atrisamhitā* 192 ; *Yamasmṛti* 33). The category of *antyāvasāyin*, on the other hand, could not boast of a hoary past or antiquity based on religious sanction like that of the *antya* but of only a sage as its patron⁵.

The significant fact that emerges from the lexicons is the gradual increase in the number and importance of mixed *varṇa* children forming the *caṇḍāla* category. Their number was two in the SK (namely *caṇḍāla* and *śvapaca* and later another one was added to their number (viz., the *pukkasa* in the AK and HK). And in the final categorization their number increased to seven, thus the entire category being monopolised by them.

Among them, the *pukkasa* was the only *anuloma* son. But the absence of any *anuloma* son in the two categories of the SKD and VP and the subsequent omissions of the only *anuloma* son, i.e., the *pukkasa*, from the final enumeration show that they were possibly assimilated within the four-*varṇa* structure of the society.

A *caṇḍāla*, the first entry in the *antyāvasāyin* category, is born of the extreme form of *pratiloma* marriage and is the worst of all *pratiloma* sons. He, together with *śvapaca*, seems to have occupied a place of importance as his name occurred in all the six dictionaries. The *Agni-purāṇa* was quoted to show that *caṇḍāla*-s were the worst people (SKD II. 902). Their appearance was described from *Rāmāyaṇa* and their cruel nature from the *Unadivṛtti* (SKD II. 418). Similar is the position of *śvapaca* probably because both his parents belong to the mixed *varṇa*

of the second order, i.e., he is a cross between a *pratiloma* father and an *anuloma* mother, the latter being born of a *kṣatriya* father and *śūdra* mother (SK 184 ; AK II. 10. 2 ; SKD I. 218 ; VP II. 1055). Therefore, *caṇḍāla* and *śvapaca* earned the displeasure of the MK and SKD, which strongly condemned them.

Thus one notices that some *pratiloma* sons were isolated from the beginning, but not all of them. For instance, by virtue of the nature of their occupation, it appears that *sūta*, *māgadha* and *kṣattā* were employed in the royal household alone⁵. This indicates that their number was not very large, and probably also because they were born mostly in royal families alone. But as their number increased in course of time, their absorption in the royal household with specific duties was no longer feasible. Moreover, with the increasing differentiation among the four *varṇa*-s any intercourse among them came to be regarded with disfavour, especially in the *pratiloma* order. The first victims were *caṇḍāla* and *śvapaca*, involving the *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and *śūdra*, mainly in the *pratiloma* order. This shows that the first breach was effected in marriage between the two extreme *varṇa*-s in society, i.e., the *brāhmaṇa* and *śūdra*, and then the next highest *varṇa*, the *kṣatriya*. Gradually, however, the society came in a position to completely seal off *pratiloma* marriages among the four *varṇa*-s, for all sons born of such unions found themselves among the most despised group in society⁷. Thereafter, they all came under the generic term of *antyāvasāyin* which included all castes/groups having similar social status *caṇḍāla*-s, the lowest in the social hierarchy.

Subject to further verification, the following hypotheses, tentative at this stage though, may be put forward :

(1) By attributing its origin to the worst form of *pratiloma* marriage, the *caṇḍāla* was condemned to the lowest position in society from the earliest times.

(2) The *caṇḍāla* is a specific and the lowest caste/group in Hindu society. Because of its pioneer role among the despised groups in society the *caṇḍāla* has also a generic connotation (*caṇḍālādi*) to denote similar castes and groups.

(3) The cluster of castes/groups which had the lowest position in society was composed of *pratiloma* sons alone (with the exception of *śvapaca*).

(4) Eventually, therefore, the parentage of people belonging to a particular caste/group became more important than its occupation in deciding its relative position in society.

(5) It should now be investigated how the names of the 6 (or 7 for that matter) castes/groups included under the category of *antyā-*

vasāyin were derived,⁸ and why and how names of *pratiloma* sons were to be adopted for them or *vice versa*.

NOTES

1. Kosambi 1955 : 57 : Macdonell 1962 : 368 : Zachariae 1897 : 18, 19. According to the cyclostyled bibliography prepared by the Deccan College, Poona (to be referred to here after as *DCB*), the *AK* was written earlier than in 566 A.D., and the *SK* was composed later than in the 6th century A.D. (*DCB* : 8). Kulkarai also places the *SK* after the *AK*.

2. A *niṣāda* is probably more familiar as an alternative name for an *anutoma* of a *brāhmaṇa* father and *sūdra* mother (*Arthaśāstra* III, 7. 42 : *Manusmṛti* X. 8 ; IX. 178).

3. For *plava*/*plavaka*, see Kane II. 1. 102. According to the *Arthashastra* VII. 17. 354 and XI. 1. 148, or *plavaka* may be a sword player or a swimmer (Shama-sastry 1951 : 342) and acts as a spy. See also *SKD*. III. 376.

4. Incidentally, the *HK* also mentions *antiyaja* and *antiyavarṇa* which mean a different section of *sūdra* and *śūdra*, respectively (*HK*. 392, 586.)

5. And even that could not be located yet. For, in the extant *smṛti* and *samhitā* ascribed to Angiras, the *śloka* on *santyaśvasāyin* is not mentioned. Later digest writers like Visvarupa. Haradatta (Kane 1930. I. 221, 222), Raghunandana, however mentioned the above *śloka* as having been propounded by Angiras. From several quotations mentioned by Raghunandana in his *Astavimsatikativam* (p. 193), it appears that he had been quoting from the extant *Angirahsmṛti* (see under *Smṛtinām samuccaya*), which, however, does not contain the *śloka* on *antyaśvasāyin*. On the other hand, although not mentioned in any of the lexicons, the *śloka* on *entiyaja* is found there (*Angirasasmṛti* 3.)

From the authorities quoted in connection with the two *ślokas* on *antiyaja* and *antyaśvasāyin*, namely, Atri, Yama and Angirasa, it is not possible to arrive at a satisfactory date regarding the period of the origin of these *śloka*-s. But Angiras was sufficiently important to have been referred to be Medhātithi on *Manusmṛti* V. 155, as a supporter of the custom of *sati*, which places him before 9th century A.D.

6. See "*Kṣatṛ*—a State functionary in ancient India" by Rajatbaran Dattaray, *Our Heritage*, vol. x., part 1, January—June, 1962, p. 1—18. Kautilya, however, stated that *sūta* and *māgadha* of historical fame were not the same (as their *pratiloma* namesakes) and they were probably superior even to *brāhmaṇa*-s and *kṣatriya*-s (*Arthaśāstra* III. 7. 43).

7. This was clearly reflected in the *Manusmṛti*, which was probably the strongest upholder of orthodox brahminism. Manu treated this topic in details, attributing names and occupations to mixed *varṇa* children of the second and third order even. (*Manusmṛti* X. 9-55, etc.)

In the *Arthaśāstra* also, which is supposed to be not very orthodox in its attitude, all *pratiloma* sons, except the *caṇḍāla*-s, were reduced to the status of *sūdra*-s, irrespective of the *varṇa* of their parents. Their birth was ascribed to the remiss on the part of a king and their law of inheritance was different from others (*Arthaśāstra* III. 7. 43, 44).

8. There were different readings of the word *antyaśvasāyin* like *aṭvaśāyin*

antāvasāyin, *antavasāyin* and *antevāsīn*. All these terms mean those who live at the end (of a settlement) and are synonymous with *canḍāla*.

Some of the constituents of this category have been explained in the following way :

Canḍāla : It is not a Sanskrit word (Lassen 1847. I, 820n), probably loaned from another language and then given a grammatical explanation in Sanskrit (SKD. II. 440).

Śvapaca ; Their name is derived, probably from their occupation and habit (Lassen 1847 ' I. 819n).

The names of *vaidehaka* and *māgadha* were territorial and owed their origin, probably, to the countries of Videha and Magadha (Kane II. I. 100 ; Lassen 1847. I. 819-820).

Another point that is worth noticing is the association of names between sages/gods and *canḍāla* s. For instance, both *antyaśvasāyin* and *śvapaca* denote a sage (SKD. I. 55 ; Trikaṇḍaśeṣa III. 227). *Kṣatta* is Brahma (SKD. II. 226), and *śabara* and *kirāta* are associated with Śiva (SKD. V. 37). As to *mātanga*, there was a sage by that name in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in whose hermitage Sugriva took refuge from Valin, and Sabari had been waiting there for Rāma. (See also Ruben 1962 : 27). This term also means a Jaina (VP. VI. 474).

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THE ARYAN QUESTION

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I. Introductory

The Aryans who are regarded as founders of the culture and civilisation of ancient India and authors of the Vedas are considered to have come from Central Asia and subdued the aboriginal population by force. This view has influenced for decades the interpretation and evaluation of historical and archaeological data which have been discovered in India and the neighbouring countries. By long usage, it has been treated as a fact of history : yet it is a hypothesis.

When it was proposed the principal evidence about Indian antiquity was the Vedic language and literature. Since then, the archaeological excavations in the Indus Basin in the twenties of this century have unearthed an ancient civilisation which was contemporaneous with the ancient civilisations of Sumer and Egypt and almost equally rich in its contents. This civilisation was far flung, existing in many pockets in the subcontinent outside the Indus Valley. Archaeological excavations in the countries on the periphery of India and in Iran and Central Asia, which are regarded as having traditional connections with India, also have produced materials which throw light on the pre-history of these regions. Further afield, clay tablets with cuneiform writings have been found in northern Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Palestine and Egypt, which show the presence of a large number of men with Indic names as princes and ruling aristocracy in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. Therefore the hypothesis that the Aryans came into India from Central Asia as invaders calls for fresh examination, especially as the ancient Indian scriptures and traditions make no such mention but imply that the Vedic civilisation was indigenous.

II. Why are the Aryans regarded as immigrants ?

The origin of this hypothesis lies in the development of comparative linguistics in the last century. In a well known address before the Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta in 1786, Sir William Jones, its President, pointed out that Sanskrit had strong affinity with Greek and Latin and that these languages appeared to have sprung from a common source which perhaps no longer existed. This discovery came "almost like a thunderbolt", in the words of F.

Max Mueller (II.1). The existence of Sanskrit language and literature was known to the West from Alexander's time, but its close relationship with Greek and Latin was not known. This discovery stimulated the study of comparative philology the foundation of which was laid by Franz Bopp with the publication of his comparative grammar in 1816. On linguistic analysis, it has been observed that a large number of languages in Europe and Asia possess in common certain morphomatic, syntactic and verbal features, which, no matter how changed in course in time, can be explained only on the assumption that they descended from a common source, of which there is no direct record. The term "Indo-European" (Indo-Germanic in Germany) has been devised to indicate this family of languages, which has been divided into two groups—European and Eurasian. The former includes Greek, Italic, Germanic, Celtic, etc. The latter comprises Balto-Slavic, Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit and the older Vedic Sanskrit), Iranian (Avestan, Old Persian) etc.

The early speakers of the parent language were supposed to have been the battle axe warriors who carried the language to different countries, and the term Indo-European (or Aryans, after the protagonists of Vedic rituals) was applied to them. These terms are without any ethnical significance, as it has now been recognised that the parent language or its related dialects were not spread by one particular race or tribe. The theory of foreign origin of the Vedic Indians followed as a matter of course from this view of the dissemination of Indo-European languages directly or indirectly from a common ancestral source. An important factor which strengthened this belief was the discovery of certain similarities between the Vedic Indians and the ancient Iranians. Both called themselves *ārya* (*airya* in Avestan) and had close linguistic affinities and worshipped a number of common gods, such as Mitra, Vayu, Āryaman, etc., and used *soma* (*haoma*) juice and fire in their rituals. The Iranians referred to an outside country, Airyan vaejo (seed of the Aryans) as their land of origin. This land, if not wholly mythical, was a cold country like Central Asia. These similarities have led to the hypothesis that the ancestors of the two peoples were one people at one time, living in Central Asia. The Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian languages are within a widespread language continuum the major part of which lies in the west. Therefore, the belief has grown that the Vedic Indians came from the west in a race movement which embraced both Iran and India.

Attempts to locate the original home of the Indo-European language have not produced definite results. Theories to settle this question on language palaeontology are no longer taken very seriously.

The Steppes of South Russia, or the Baltic area, or Germany, or the Balkans are not accepted as the original home. Central Europe would rather be favoured on the linguistic evidence as regards the nature of the flora and fauna and the climatic conditions with which the early speakers of the Proto Indo-European language were familiar. There are good reasons to conjecture that the much older source of this language was the ancient eastern Mediterranean basin, with possible links with Hamitic, Semitic and Caucasian languages. Its speakers moved northwards into Europe in the Neolithic times and settled somewhere north of the Alps, contributing an important element in the present day population of some European countries. People speaking Indo-European or related dialects later migrated into different countries, including India, from there shortly before the dawn of written history. Thus, a compromise is sought to be reached between the time honoured view that the home of Indo-European was Europe and the recent findings of anthropology and archaeology. The question would still remain how the parent language came to Western Asia before it went to Europe. In this period (neolithic), there were movements of people from Western Asia to other countries of Africa and Eurasia including India. In the preceding Upper Palaeolithic, extensive movements of the Caucasoids appear to have taken place in these areas. Human language came almost with the appearance of man (first as *Homo erectus* and then as *Homo sapiens*); in these circumstances, any conclusion about the beginning and dissemination of the Indo-European language will be highly speculative (2). Archaeological discoveries and cuneiform texts indicate that Indian traders visited Sumeria and Babylonia in the 3rd millennium B. C. and perhaps had settlements there (2A); their impact in the formative stages of this language cannot be ruled out if it originally evolved in the Near East in the 3rd millennium B. C. It appears from early Indian sources that people from India used to go to countries in Central Asia and Western Asia in prehistoric times (e.g., *Manusmṛiti* 10. 43-44).

The Vedas do not mention any country outside the subcontinent as having any connection with them. In some hymns, there is reference to fights with their opponents, called *dāsas* (slaves) and *dasyus* (ruffians) and sacking of their strongholds (*purās*). They

(2) This paragraph is based largely on the article "Indo-European languages" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1968 edition, and on the book "The History of Man" by C. S. Coon (Penguin edition, 1967).

(2A) Jacquetta Hawkes—*The First Great Civilisations*, 1973, p. 57, W. F. Leemans—*Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian period*, Leiden, 1960.

have been branded as *anārya* (non-Ārya) and *avrata* (not following the religious disciplines). Such verses have been relied on by some authorities as a proof of the coming of the Aryans as conquering hordes. Such strife is not unusual in ancient communities when the times were unsettled and religious differences were acutely felt. Even the Aryans who did not conform to the religious practices were called *dasyus* (Manu Samhitā 10.116). In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (7.6), some of his descendants were demoted to the dasyu tribes by sage Visvāmitra for their intransigence. The Vedas do not support the view that the Aryans came as invaders from the northwest (II.3).

The recent archaeological explorations in the countries between Turkmenia and India throw hardly any light on this question. There were two routes from Central Asia to the Indus basin in the ancient times. One was through Bactria over the high passes of the Hindukush into the Kabul valley. No archaeological evidence of the presence of the Aryans in the bronze age has been found along this route (II.4). The other, a longer but easier, route was through South Turkmenia joining the ancient trade route between the Indus basin and the Mediterranean near Hissar in north-eastern Iran. Chalcolithic and bronze age cultures developed in the 4th and 3rd millennia B.C. in South Turkmenia and at several other sites on this route, such as Tepe Hissar, Sahr-i-Sokhta in the Helmand delta, and Mundigak near Kandahar, on the way to Baluchistan and the Indus Valley. In northern and other parts of Baluchistan, there were a number of farming communities showing striking pottery patterns and other material equipment in this period, indicative of the influence of Iran. Baluchistan seemed to have served as a transition stage between the Iranian plateau and the sub-continent. But below the high grounds of Baluchistan these influences made hardly any headway. The Indus Valley civilisation, developed there, was in the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C., a full grown product with an integrity of its own. Its influence could then be noticed on the village cultures of Baluchistan, at Mundigak and as far as South Turkmenia, where articles of Harappan origin have been found. The end of this civilisation came in the 18th century B.C. How it came is uncertain. In the highest and latest level at Mohenjodaro some skeletons, some with cuts in the skull, some of them in groups, have been found, suggestive of a raid by marauders, who are considered by some authorities to have been Aryan invaders, thus giving a visual confirmation of the allusion in the R̥gveda to the destruction of the strongholds of non-Aryans by the wargod Indra. The city was already in an advanced stage of economic and social decline, showing the absence of any strong central authority. The

tribesmen in the Baluchistan hills were not far off to take advantage of such a situation. The material evidence of violence is confined to Mohenjodaro ; other causes, such as recurring high floods, tectonic disturbances, etc., may have contributed equally well to the fading out of the civilisation. Still, some authorities would like to take the end of this civilisation as the time of arrival of the Aryans in the Indian sub-continent, thus introducing an element of misconception of the early history. There is no evidence of the coming of a new people and a new culture from Central Asia by the second route. The recent excavations in the Swat valley suggest the presence of varied but well differentiated cultures from the end half of the 3rd millennium to the historical times. The presence of grey black ceramics in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., recalls the presence of similar pottery in the same period in western countries like northern Iran, Turkmenia and Anatolia (II 5). This influence did not penetrate into the plains in the east and cannot be treated as a sign of Aryan migration from Central Asia or Iran. The Painted Grey Ware (PGW), which is associated with the early Aryans in India by some authorities cannot be correlated with the grey ware of the above regions in time and in some important characteristics.

Central Asia deserves some attention as there is a lingering belief that the Aryan tribes came from these areas. Much archaeological work has been done there in recent years.(6) Neolithic and bronze age cultures developed in two regions near the route to India, each separated from the other by long stretches of desert : (1) the lower Amudaria basin in Uzbekistan and (2) the narrow strip in south Turkmenia between the Iranian border and the desert. In the first region, neolithic culture, known as the Kelteminar culture, during the IV-III millennia was followed by bronze age culture from the middle of 2nd millennium to the beginning of the 1st millennium. This was a variety of the Andronovo culture of South Siberia brought by nomadic tribes from the steppes of Kazakhstan, who then overflowed into the second region, i.e., South Turkmenia. The development in South Turkmenia were more impressive. From the end of the 5th millennium, progress was made from farming and cattle raising to metal industries. A number of important sites have been discovered, such as Namazgah (type site), Anau, Altyn

(6) For Archaeology of Turkmenia and the Aral basin, see (a) *Central Asia : Turkmenia before the Achaemenids* by V. M. Masson and V. I. Sarjanidi (Tr. by Ruth Tringham. London, 1972) and (b) *Archaeology of Soviet Central Asia* by G. Frumkin (Leiden, 1970).

depe, Geoksyur, etc. It reached the stage of proto-urbanisation. In this period, articles of ivory as in Mohenjodaro, have been found and many of the pottery forms and metal objects, such as flat daggers, have Harappan analogies (II.7). Influence, also sometimes immigration, came mainly from Mesopotamia and Iran. In the middle of the 2nd millennium the culture declined and was then revived on the arrival of the nomadic tribes from the steppes of Kazakhstan bringing an Andronovo type of bronze age culture (1200-B.C.). They are regarded by some scholars as the prototype of the so called Aryan invaders of India. There is no consensus among Soviet scholars whether these tribes destroyed the Harappan cities and were the predecessors of the Indo-Aryans. The time interval between the rise of the Aryan civilisation in India and the incursions of these tribes into South Turkmenia makes such an assumption highly unlikely. V.M. Masson considers that the reasons for the breakdown of the Indus valley civilisation are not clear: it may have been due to the increasing aridity of the soil or internal disturbances. Other Soviet scholars do not also believe that the flourishing Indus civilisation had a violent end. (II.8).

III. The Indian View

The word *Sapta Sindhu*, meaning a group of seven rivers, is mentioned frequently in the Vedic hymns, and the country through which they flowed also had this name (RV. 8.24.27) and was the home land of the Aryans. In the Avesta (*Vendidad*, *Forgard I*) the name appears as *Hapta Hindav*, and was one of the sixteen "good lands" created by Ahura Mazda for the Aryans, and has been identified with the Punjab. The country lay between the Indus on one side and the *Sarasvati* on the other as the seventh river (RV.7.36.6 *Sindhumātā, Sarasvatī Saptathī*). This also corresponds roughly with the early homeland of the Āryas, as described in the *Manu Saṁhitā* and ancient *Dharmasūtras*. According to *Manu* (II. 17-20), *Brahmāvarta*, the tract between the rivers *Sarasvati* and *Driṣadvatī*, was the cradle of the Vedas and, together with the adjacent territories of *Kuru*, *Pañchāla*, *Surasena* and *Matsya*, collectively known as *Brahmaṛsideśa*, was the home of the Vedic teachers and culture. This area now comprises eastern Punjab and the upper *Gangā-Yamunā* doab and was a part of *Madhyadeśa* of *Manu* (II. 21), and extended eastwards from *Vinaśana* (the place of disappearance of the *Sarasvati* in the desert). According to the *Dharmasūtras* of *Vaśiṣṭha*, *Baudhāyana* and *Śankha-Likhita*, *Āryāvarta* (the homeland of Āryas) was practically the same as above, only *Śankha-Likhita* extending the western boundary to the borders of

Sindhu-Sauvira (Sind and Western Punjab). The Dharmasūtras were a class of ancient compilations containing the traditions followed by the Vedic communities and were among the constituents of the Vedāṅga literature. The *Manusamhitā* was perhaps equally old, though it is presumed to have assumed its present form (less archaic) at least before the 2nd century A.D.¹

Thus, the view has been held from ancient times that the Aryan people and their culture evolved in a compact area with the Sarasvatī and Yamunā basin and centre, and those who followed this religion called themselves Ārya (cultured) to distinguish themselves from other inhabitants who were derisively called Anārya (uncivilised) dāsa (slave) or dasyu (ruffian). It is now recognised in the West that the language of the hymns of the Ṛgveda represents on the whole the particular vernacular dialect which was spoken in eastern Punjab and the upper portion of the Gangetic doab. (III. 2)

It is believed in the West that the Ṛgveda was composed earlier than the other Vedas. The Indian tradition is different. The Vedic texts grew in disperse communities, principally in connection with the religious rites practised there, and spread over other areas during many generations; they were not composed all at the same time. They were then collected and classified in four Samhitas (collections), called Ṛk, Sāma, Yajus and Atharva, according to the requirements of four classes of priests employed in sacrifices, namely, Hotā, Udgātā, Adhvaryu and Brahmā respectively. This tradition which is explained in the Purāṇas, for example the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (III.4.11.14), appears to be plausible. The present Ṛg Veda, which has come from one of the Vedic schools, has over 1000 hymns attributed to over 200 composers: it is likely that some verses have not found place here. It must have taken a long time for this large mass of sacerdotal texts to grow and to be classified. The work of this division is ascribed to Vyāsa, a contemporary of the Mahābhārata war. He and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, another leading figure in this War, as well as the War itself should be regarded as historical. Great care was taken to prevent corruption of the Vedic texts.

The chronology of ancient India before Buddha is shrouded in darkness; no synchronism can be established with known events in other countries. The Purāṇas contain, as a general rule, the genealogies of two well known dynasties in ancient India, as well as that of Magadha.

(1) The materials for this paragraph are largely from P. V. Kane's History of Dharmasastra. Vol. II, Part I—Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1930. The relevant texts are to be found there.

In spite of discrepancies, the lists in different Purāṇas show some basic agreements. F. E. Pargiter was the first to work on these lists and placed the Mahābhārata War in c. 950 B.C. (III. 3). His method then was not regarded as convincing. In Sumerian and Babylonian civilisations, such king lists have been found, and in spite of their drawbacks they are now looked upon as important historical materials. Recently another scholar, Professor R. Morton-Smith, has argued that there is a case for Pargiter's method and dependence on the Puranic lists "has far more rational support than scepticism" (III 4). He has worked out the dates of Jarāsandha and his son Sahadeva, both kings of Magadha and contemporaries of the Pāṇavas, and placed the Mahābhārata War in c. 975 B.C. Independently, Jain tradition supports this chronology. Nemi-nāth, the 2nd Jain Tirthāṅkara, was, according to this tradition, a relation and contemporary of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The 24th Tirthankara, Mahāvira, was a historical person and a contemporary of Buddha (6th century B.C.). The 23rd Tirthankara, Pārśvanāth, is placed 250 or 200 years before him by Hermann Jacobi (III 5). His predecessor may be taken to have flourished in the 10th century B.C. Thus, 1100-1000 B. C. would be a reasonable date for Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Vyāsa.

Starting on this date, a reasonable guess may be made about the time when composition of the Ṛgveda started. The Ṛgveda mentions in its verses some of the earliest kings, and the authorship of some hymns has been attributed to some of them, such as Pururavā (RV. X. 95), Pṛthu (RV. X. 148), Māndhātā (RV. X. 134), Sudāsa (RV. X. 133), etc. Having regard to the position of these kings in the king lists and allowing an average of 20 years or so for each generation, the time period between these kings and Vyāsa would cover 800 to 1000 years. The Vedic texts and religion, therefore, developed in course of a millennium before redaction of the texts by Vyāsa. The beginning of the Vedic civilisation may reasonably be considered to have taken place around 2000 B.C. Some support to this view comes from the chronology of the recently discovered Indo-Aryan kings and princes in northern Mesopotamia in the 2nd millennium B.C. (see Section V).

In working out the chronology of the Vedic period, use has been made of the king lists mentioned in the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas have existed from early times as a class of composition for instruction of common people in religion and history. The Purāṇa is mentioned in the Atharva Veda (XI. 7. 24, XV. 6. 4), Taittiriya Āraṇyaka (II. 10) and Upaniṣads. The word Itihāsa-Purāṇa has been used to describe this class of literature and it has been designated as *pañcama-veda* (fifth Veda) in some Upaniṣads. This shows that some sanctity was attached to them, and attempts must have been made to preserve the traditions. This would

apply to the early versions and not all the eighteen books into which this class of literature developed.

IV. The Indo-Iranians

The history of the Iranian people before the rise of the Achaemenian kings is obscure. The little that is known comes from the Avesta and Pahlavi commentaries. The religion that is preached in the Avesta is Zoroastrianism, but there are indications that the religion before it was a primitive form of pantheism in which, besides Mazda, many gods, some Vedic, were worshipped. Zoroaster stood up against the malpractices and oppression of the priests and preached a purer form of religion based on ethical principles and a kind of mono-theism with Ahura Mazda as the Supreme God. Due to strong opposition, he left his country with some followers and found shelter in the court of king Vistaspa at Balkh. King Vistaspa was converted to his teachings and became an ardent champion of the new religion. After Vistaspa the Avesta does not mention any royal patron: it appears that Vistaspa's kingdom broke up after him and the religion made headway slowly in other parts of Iran. In the Achaemenid inscriptions (6th—4th century B C) strong devotion to Ahura Mazda has been proclaimed by these kings, but the name of Zoroaster finds no mention there. The Greek invasion of Persia was disastrous to the religion, and after a dark period of five centuries during the Seleucid and Parthian rules, it revived under the Sassanian dynasty in the 3rd century A, D, when it was made the State religion. Collection of the remnants of the Avestan texts, which had been begun under the last of the Arsacides, was completed. The final revision of the texts was made by a tribunal during the reign of king Shapur II (309—80 A. D.) and the Avesta assumed its present form.

The Gathas, the authorship of which is attributed mainly to Zoroaster and, to a lesser extent, to his companions, constitute the oldest as well as the most important part of the Avesta. They differ from the other parts in language, metre and style. The language is allied to the language of the R̥gveda. The great body of the Avesta was composed in another dialect, called Younger Avestan, after Zoroaster's death, and shows that the language had then much declined. It was evidently an attempt at syncretism with the older religion in order to make Zoroaster's religion more acceptable to the common people.

The date of Zoroaster is important in the history of Iran. On the basis of reliable traditions, he is placed in the 7th—6th century B. C. (660—583 B.C., according to Professor A. V. W. Jackson). Some

argue for an earlier date on account of similarities in the language of the Gathas with the Rgveda, but it appears that such agreement has been much exaggerated. The different aspects of this question including the linguistic affinities have been discussed in a paper contributed by the well-known Indologist K. Chattopadhyaya to the 26th International Congress of Orientalists, 1964, at New Delhi (IV.1).

How long before Zoroaster the Indo-Iranians came into Iran and when they adopted the old Mazda religion is difficult to answer. According to the Avesta (*Vendidad*), Airyan Vaejo (Seed of the Aryans) was the first of the sixteen "good lands" created by Ahura Mazda for His followers and was their home land. Some authorities regard this land as purely mythical while others, though regarding it as real, have placed it in different areas of northern Asia. Most authorities, however, consider that it was a region in north Azarbaijan. What happened after their coming into Iran is not clear. An acceptable history in broad outlines may be constructed from the legends and the lists of the kings which have been given with some consistency in the Avesta and which have been further elaborated in the Pahlavi commentaries and traditions. There were two dynasties, Paradhata and Kayanian, from the beginning upto Zoroaster's time. Gaya Maretan, who was the first king of the Paradhata dynasty, is described as the seed of the race of the Aryan nations and the first to accept the teachings of Ahura Mazda (Yt. XIII.87). His dynasty had 10 kings including a foreign usurper, Azi Dahak. This dynasty was replaced by the Kayanian dynasty from the delta of the Helmand river in Seistan; it had five kings upto King Vistaspa. Thus, there were about 15 kings from the coming of the Iranians upto Zoroaster, and the total period covered by them may be taken roughly as between 300 and 400 years. Reckoning 7th—6th century B. C. as the time of Zoroaster, the arrival of the Indo-Iranians in Iran and the establishment of Mazda worship there took place in c. 1100—1000 B.C. Historically, there is evidence of the presence of Indo-Iranian tribes in north Iran about this time. Two vassal kingdoms in north Iran under Assyria are mentioned in the Assyrian records in the 9th century B. C., one of which was Parsua in the south of Lake Urumiya and the other, Madai, to the north of Media. They later migrated to the south, one ultimately to the Bakhtiari foot hills to found the Achaemenid empire, and the other to Media to become the Medes. It appears, therefore, that the Vedic religion is of much greater antiquity than the Mazdayasnan religion. There are also differences in fundamental matters which indicate that the two peoples were not one people at any time :—

- (i) The dualistic conception of good and evil : There is an

independent power for evil, Angra Mainyu or Ahriman, to thwart the good creations of Ahura Mazda. The Vedic Indians did not believe in a separate agency for evil.

(ii) Life after death : The Iranians believed in resurrection (Yt. XIX. 11.89) : the Indo-Aryans believed in transmigration of the soul.

(iii) Next of kin marriage : This is rated high for the Mazda followers : such marriage was prohibited among the Indo-Aryans (RV. X. 10. 2, 10, 12).

(iv) Disposal of the dead : Cremation or burial practised among the Vedic Indians is denounced in the Avesta as an unpardonable sin : the Avestan way of disposal was exposure to birds and beasts of prey.

Two rivers, Harahvaiti and Haroyu are mentioned in the Avesta (Vendibad) without any religious significance, and two of the "good lands" created by Ahura Mazda for the Aryans were called after them. One is the modern Arghandab, a tributary of the Helmand near Kandahar, and the other, the Harirud, flowing near the city of Herat. They are not big rivers and are clearly transformation of the names of the Vedic rivers Sarasvatī and Sarayu in the Avestan language. The Harahvaiti has no sanctity in the Avesta but the Sarasvatī is the most sacred river in the Vedas. They appear to be transfers of prized river names by people migrating from India to another country.

These river names and worship of some common gods and some similar ritualistic practices found among the Iranians suggest that the Iranians acquired these identities from the Vedic Indians in eastern Iran and Afghanistan when the latter went there for trade or other purposes. The Aryans living in Saptasindhu were not unknown to the Iranians (Vendibdad). ✓

(V) The Indo-Aryans in Western Asia.

Presence of Indo-Aryans in Western Asia in the middle of the second millennium B. C. throws important light on the Aryan question. Clay tablets written in Akkadian cuneiform were discovered in 1887 in the royal archives of Akhenaton, the 'heretic' pharaoh, at El Amarna in middle Egypt, where the capital had been removed temporarily during his reign (1379—1362 B C). Among the tablets were letters received by this pharaoh and his father, Amenophis III, from princes in Palestine and Syria, mainly their vassals, and from friendly kings in the Fertile Crescent. Some of them had Indo-Aryan names. Tushratta, king of Mitanni, was one of them : there were seven letters from this monarch.

The next important find was made in 1906 at Bogazkoy in Central Anatolia where the ruins of Hattusa, the capital of the Hittites were unearthed. Among hundreds of cuneiform tablets found there, there was a treaty in duplicate between King Suppiluliuma of the Hittites and prince Matiwaja, son of king Tushratta of Mitanni. The treaty contained an oath by the prince invoking four gods, Mit-ra, U-ru-na-na, In-da-ra, and Na-sa-at-ti-ia-an-na (the end particles na/an/nu are Hurrian wordendings). Another important find was a manual on training of horses by one Kikkuli of Mitanni, in which occurred some Sanskrit numerals, such as aika (eka), tera (tri), panza (pancha), satta (sapta) and na (nava), as well as some Indo-Aryan words, like ua-ar-ta-an-na (vartana) meaning turning or loop by a horse.

The excavations at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk between 1925 and 1931 added a number of Indo-Aryan words. This was the site of an important town, Nuzu, in ancient Arrapha, then under the sway of Mitanni kingdom, and had a mixed Hurrian and Indo-Aryan population in the 16th and 15th centuries B. C. Excavations at Alalakh, which was the ancient capital of a small state in northern Syria, have produced evidence of connections with Mitanni kingdom and its people. Other excavations in Palestine have brought to light more Indo-Aryan names of local rulers.

✓ From these discoveries it can be inferred that Mitanni became a powerful kingdom in the middle of the second millennium B. C. ; it had conquered Assyria and ruled over practically the whole of upper Mesopotamia and northern Syria, from the east of the Tigris to the Mediterranean coast, with its capital in the Khabur Valley. They were a small aristocracy ruling over a predominantly Hurrian population. The Mitanni kings called themselves kings of Hurri also, and the Hurrian language was sometimes used in official documents. It is not definitely known when the Mitanni kingdom was established, but from fragmentary information now available, it appears that it came into being in the second half of the 16th century B. C. At that time it had to contend with an expansionist Egypt under the 18th Dynasty and it successfully stopped two of its most powerful pharaohs, Thutmose I (c. 1525—1512 B. C.) and Thutmose III (c. 1504—1450 B. C.) on the bank of the Euphrates. It then entered into matrimonial alliances with Egypt, as a new menace of a resurgent Hittite power under the New kingdom was rising on its north western border. Ultimately, the Mitanni kingdom broke up under the attack of King Suppiluliuma of the Hittites on one side and Assyria on the other, at the time of its last king, Tushratta, who was murdered in a palace intrigue. The kingdom was divided between the Hittites and the Assy-

rians, and a portion in the centre was left for Matiwaja, Tushratta's son, as a vassal and protege of Suppiluliuma. Their agreement was the famous treaty found at Bogazkoy in 1906. Thus ended the once powerful kingdom of Mitanni; names of 8 successive kings are available, from—dirta (c. 1520 B. C.) to Tushratta (c. 1360 B. C.), showing an unbroken existence for ever 150 years. It continued as Hanigalbat for some time under Assyria and was occasionally mentioned in their records.

The question arises : who were the Mitannians and when they came into Mesopotamia. The four gods mentioned in the Mitanni treaty have been conclusively proved to be Indra, Mitra, Varuna and Nasatya of the Vedic pantheon (V. 1). They are among the principal deities in the R̥gveda and over 380 hymns there are addressed to them, 300 to Indra alone. Over a dozen appellatives (nouns, adjectives, numerals, etc.) and over one hundred personal names of princes, nobles and officials have so far turned up. There has been long controversy whether the language is Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian or an unknown language predecessor to both. Owing to the inadequacies of cuneiform writing, interpretation of a word sometimes admits of more than one etymological possibility. While some of these names may be interpreted as Iranian, there does not seem to be a single doubtful case where Indic origin is not possible (V. 2). After considering the different alternatives and taking an overall view, the only logical conclusion is that the language was Indo-Aryan (V. 3): this view is now generally accepted.

A few names are given below which show their relationship with the Old Indo-Aryan language. (The names and their cuneiform version in brackets have been taken from R. T. O. Callaghan's book—*Aram Naharaim*) :—

Artasumara (ar-ta-as-su-ma-ra)	King	Indic ; R̥tasmara (mindful of truth, divine law).
Artadama (ar-ta-ta-ma)	King	Ind : R̥tadhama (abiding in divine law)
Artamanya (ar-ta-ma-an-ia)	Prince	Ind : R̥ta manya (mindful of divine law)
Artamna (ar-ta-am-na)		Ind : R̥tamna (devoted to divine law).
Parsasatar (Par-sa-sa-tar)	King	Ind : Prasastṛ (director or name of a priest, also called <i>maitra-varuna</i> , in <i>soma</i> sacrifice)—R.V. II. 36.6)
Saussatar (Sa-us-sa-tar)	King	Ind : Sauksatra < Suksatra—powerful, mighty (R.V. VII. 34.1,39)

Tushratta (tu-is-e-rat-ta/or tu-us-rat-ta)	King	Ind :	Tvesa-ratha (RV. V. 61. 13) or Tvisra- tha, meaning—having a shining chariot.
Subandu (Su-ba-an-du)	Prince	Ind :	Subandhu—having good friends (A V. 14. 1. 17, RV. I. 126. 5) name of a person (RV X. 60. 7. 10).
Bardaswa (ba-ar-ta-su-a)	Prince	Ind :	Varddhya—Sva (name : RV. VI. 61. 1)
Indaruta (In-dar-u-ta)	Chief- tain	Ind :	Indrota (a name—RV. VIII. 68. 15, 17).
Shuwardata (Su-wa-ar-da-ta)	Prince	Ind :	Suwardatta—protected by heaven ; Suvar—heaven, light TS. 5. 5. 7. 6, 7.
Aitara (a-it-ta-ra)		Ind :	Aitara (of lower descent) : Son of Itara, e.g., Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Tugra (V. 4)		Ind :	Tugra, a name (RV I. 118. 6).

Some of the names contain the element *arta*, Indic *ṛta*, which occurs in the Vedas as an expression of the Indo-Aryan conception of the divine law or divine order of things in the world. Some of the names, and words are peculiarly Vedic. There is thus strong evidence that the people who spoke that language worshipped Vedic gods, like Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Nasatya, Vayu, Svar, *Ṛta* etc., and were specially interested in horses, chariots and horse racing like the Vedic Aryans and employed Indic numerals. They had a hereditary warrior class like Kṣatriyas, called *maryanna* ; even the Hurrians were promoted to this order. The word is similar to the Vedic word *marya* meaning young men or to *marāyīn* meaning killer of enemy. (RV. X. 60. 4).

Therefore, it appears from their language and religion that the Mitannians were Indo-Aryans, the same as the Vedic Indians. It also appears that the R̥gveda was in existence at this period.

The Indo-Aryans in Western Asia were a ruling minority living in symbiosis with a predominantly Hurrian population and were gradually absorbed in them. The Hurrians were a people from the mountainous country near Armenia in the north, speaking a non-Indo-European language. They began coming into Mesopotamia well before 2000 B. C. as peaceful settlers, through the north eastern districts, east of the Tigris. After the collapse of Assyria and Hammurabi's Old Babylonian Kingdom in the 17th century B. C. they came in larger numbers and spread over the whole of north Mesopotamia and Syria and even to Anatolia and Palestine. No evidence of the presence of the Indo-Aryans before the 17th century B. C. has come to

notice. Name of three Indo-Aryan princes ruling over Hurrian states in north Mesopotamia towards c. 1650 B. C. have been found in Hittite texts (V. 5). It may be presumed that the Indo-Aryan migration into Upper Mesopotamia began in 17th century B. C. That the Indo-Aryans were in small numbers in 16th—14th century B. C. is suggested by the comparative paucity of Indo-Aryan names among the Hurrian names found in excavations relating to this period. They appear to have assumed the leadership of the Hurrians in many areas and set up states which ultimately coalesced into Mitanni kingdom. The period of over 150 years (late 16th to the middle of 14th century B. C.) marks the height of their power, after which they faded out.

The Indo-Aryans came in similar contact with another mountain people, the Kassites, who migrated from the north into the Zagros about 2000 B.C. and later became rulers of Babylon in 1600 B.C. for nearly 600 years. For a time, the Indo-Aryans appear to have become leaders of these tribes also without, however, forming any large state with them as in the case of the Hurrians. Vestiges of this connection were left in the Kassite vocabulary in some Indic words, such as *Suryas* (*Surya*—Sun), *Marutas* (*Marut*—Wind god) etc.

Scholars have been hard put to it to find a source near north Mesopotamia from which the Mitannians could have come. The Hittites and the Iranians were near enough but linguistically and in religion there were basic differences. The Mitannians were far closer to the Vedic Indians, nay sharing the same religion and language. There is no other country from which their migration into Mesopotamia can be justifiably postulated. Their coming from such a distance and then establishing themselves as rulers among the Hurrians may give rise to scepticism. Movement from India into these areas in ancient times is considered to have taken place for trade and other purposes. Trade with India existed in the Sumerian times and afterwards. A case of such movement in historical times is recorded by Zenob, a Syrian priest and disciple of St. Gregory, the illuminator. According to him, two Hindu princes came with their followers as fugitives from Kanauj in north India to distant Armenia and established a Hindu colony which lasted from 130 B. C. to 304 A. D. when it was destroyed by his master on an idol smashing tour (V. 6). The hegemony of the Indo-Aryans appears to have begun in a small way and blossomed into a large kingdom. Perhaps on account of their small numbers and the difficulty in obtaining adequate replenishment from a distant base and the rise of powerful neighbours they collapsed and were engulfed in the main stream.

(VI) The epilogue

The long standing view that the Aryans migrated from Central Asia, one branch staying in Iran and another coming into India, is not supported by any positive archaeological evidence so far available. It appears that the Iranian religion was a growth of a later period compared with the Vedic religion. There is good probability that the affinities observed in the language and religion of ancient Iran with those of Vedic India were due to borrowing on contact from the Aryans from India. The principal evidence of the foreign origin of the Aryans in India is the relationship of the Old Indo-Aryan language with the Indo-European family of languages, the majority of which are in the West. Here also, there is uncertainty about the home of the parent language ; Asia is more likely to have been the home of the parent language ; Indic influence in the early stages cannot be excluded ; little is known about the diffusion of such a language or its proto-type. or of the dialects ultimately contributing to its make-up, in course of man's long wandering over Eurasia after the use of language was learnt. Documentary records of the European languages, so far found, do not appear to be of greater antiquity than that of Indo-Aryan. The issue cannot be clinched at present.

The Indian view that the Aryan civilisation is a product of the soil is inherent in their ancient literature and traditions. They indicate that the Vedic civilisation began to grow around 2000 B.C. in the country of the Sarasvatī and upper Gangā Doāb. There was another civilisation, now known as the Indus Civilisation, some distance away, separated from it by the Indian desert. The Indus Civilisation is also regarded as indigenous, created by the genius of the people.

There are some who would like to regard both of them as the same Aryan civilisation. There are several features in the Indus Civilisation, which are also noticeable in the Vedic Civilisation. For example, the Indus people used numerals based on the decimal system, the *āṅgūlī* (digit) was used as a unit of length as in early Hindu measurements. No temple or image has been found in any Harappan settlement. The Vedic sacrifices were held in temporary pandals (*sadas*) without any image. A number of fire altars, similar to those used in Vedic sacrifices, have been found in the Harappan ruins, some in rooms of houses at Lothal, a Harappan city, having similar configurations as the domestic altars for daily Vedic rites (V. 1). The so called terra cotta cakes, thin and flat pieces of triangular, circular or oval shape with geometric diagrams on one side, have been found near the altars. There were linear markings on special bricks used in Vedic altars. The figures cut in the Harappan seals, such as pipal leaf, animals

round a man in Yogic posture, a three headed deity, the majestic bull (a much venerated animal in the Rgveda) seem to show some cultural links between the two civilisations. The strongly conservative character of the Harappan civilisation shown by the conformity to the same conventions in building, town planning, technology and religion at different sites, situated wide apart and built at different periods, is also a characteristics of early Hinduism. In spite of such similarities, the two civilisations cannot be regarded as one and the same ; more decisive evidence, such as an agreed decipherment of the Indus script, is necessary to prove their identity. The Aryan civilisation appears to be a separate manifestation. It was mainly rural with hardly any urbanisation whereas the Harappan was mainly urban.

Besides the religious and semi-religious texts, the material evidence of such a separate civilisation round 2000 B. C. in the homeland of the Vedas is still meagre. But the evidence is accumulating with the find of pottery and copper tools and weapons of great antiquity at many sites. For some years, copper tools and weapons, known as copper hoards, have been found at several places in this region, but as excavations were superficial at first, no associated pottery was discovered. A distinct type of ochre colour pottery (OCP) was found separately at a large number of sites in these areas. Some sites which produced copper objects initially, have yielded this pottery on further excavation : any doubt about their association has been removed by the discovery of both together in some recent excavations. It is clear that they belong to the same culture. The objects have been found in shallow deposits, .5m to 1.5 m in thickness : the people appear to have been of wandering type, with mixed pastoral cum agricultural economy like the Vedic Aryan. The ochre colour pottery is now considered to be a separate entity, some from periods before any Harappan intrusion, some showing only marginal Harappan influences. Many of the copper objects have no parallel in the Indus culture or in the west ; they may be regarded as of an indigenous development, belonging more characteristically to an Indian assemblage than any other (VI. 2), 12 shards of the OCP from four sites have been recently examined by thermoluminescence test. (VI. 3). The range of dates is like 2280 and 1170 B. C., 2030 and 1730 B. C., 2650 and 1570 B. C., and 1500 to 1180 B. C. It would thus seem that the industry in its early stages was contemporary with the later phases of the Harappan civilisation and extended well into the second half of the 2nd millennium B. C. (VI. 4). Another characteristic pottery, known as the Painted Grey Ware (PGW), has been found in this region : it cannot be connected with the supposed coming of the Aryans on account of its dating, (generally c. 800-500 B. C.), but it can be taken as an Aryan ware of a later development,

The big gap in the Indian history from the end of the Harappan civilisation to the beginning of the historical period is covered by such a separate civilisation existing in the homeland of the Vedas from c. 2000 B. C.

The presence of the ochre colour pottery and copper tools in association in the Gangā-Saraswatī region from c. 2000 B. C. is significant, but the archaeological evidence from this area and the Indus Valley is still inadequate to formulate a generally acceptable solution of the Aryan question. More work in the intervening areas is necessary. It would be permissible to hold that the Aryan culture was a separate and, perhaps, some what later development in the east in the Saraswatī and upper Gangā basin, away from the Indus Valley development and perhaps contemporary with, at least, its later phases.

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ABBREVIATIONS :

AV	—	Atharvaveda
RV	—	Rgveda
TS	—	Taittiriya Samhita
Yt	—	Yast (Zend Avestā) Tr. by James Darmesteter
CAH	—	Cambridge Ancient History (Revised edition in fascicles)
CHI	—	Cambridge History of India
JAOS	—	Journal of the American Oriental Society
BASOR	—	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
JRAS	—	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

INDIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITY : EVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION.

BIRESWAR BANERJEE

Introduction

India is overwhelmingly an agricultural country. Even in the present wave of urbanisation about 80 per cent of her population live in the villages. Out of her total population of about 548 million in 1971, about 439 million lived in about 570,000 villages. The rural society, therefore, forms an integral part of Indian culture. Despite recent tendencies of transformation, the rural society maintains the rich heritage of Indian agriculture, upholds its complex organisation and maintains the religious life. It presents a veritable mosaic of diversified cultural pattern—a culture being evolved from hunting and food gathering, *jhum* cultivation, use of plough, small seeds and bullocks in sedentary farming and in its adaptations to new techniques in agriculture, manufacturing and other spheres of rural and urban life. The rural society is also endowed with a combination of primitive cults of magic and animism with a modern philosophical outlook of various religious and associated beliefs of the people. It has, therefore, become the veritable museum of conflicting cults and ideologies. Religious composition of rural India presents a more complex and diversified cultural pattern. The differences of caste and religion often give rise to animosities and conflicts. The continuation of caste groupings within the rural society possesses its uniqueness in maintaining vocational balance but under the modern context has retarding effects in the healthy growth of the rural economy. In the villages, caste largely determines the function, status and the available opportunities or handicaps of an individual. It determines the differences of social life, types of houses and cultural patterns of the people. Though Indian Constitution grants equal rights to all individuals and ignores any caste privilege, the concept of caste has permeated deep within the Indian rural society.

In detail, the Indian villages show great diversities. There are diversities in environment, ecology, economy, religion, house-type and even in village settings. But in the midst of such diversities there are elements of unity. For example, the organisations of Indian villages are essentially based on : (i) agriculture, (ii) participation of the villagers in every branches of social and economic pursuits, (iii) predominance of castes, and (iv) an unity of beliefs and aspirations. Bose (1969)

has compared such unity to a pyramid, at the base of which there exist differences but higher up it gradually disseminates. Spate (1967) has attributed such unity to the predominant agricultural system of the country being closely knit with the rhythm of Indian climate. It appears that Indian rural life is wrought in various colours, like the lush green of the deltas or the barrenness of the deserts. But everywhere the patterns are similar and controlled by the rhythm of the monsoon rain which has its direct impact on agricultural productions. Therefore, it is no wonder that the Indian villages are generally rich in crop and animal cults.

Despite gradual infiltration of the urban ways of life, rural India still retains its distinctiveness. The characteristics of the typical Indian villages are centred round the presence of poor but self-content communities, prevalence of *jajmani* system, general immobility of labour, belief in traditional customs, conservatism and collectivistic approach to problems. These characteristics may be the product of lack of communication and efficient transportation system. In normal times the villages did not suffer as the surplus products were bartered with other commodities of the adjoining villages. But at times of need, lack of transport facilities prevented movement of goods from surplus to scarcity areas. Self-sufficiency in rural economy was also due to the blending of agriculture with handicrafts and division of labour. The products of the village dwellers were destined for direct use by the community itself. In many places, more particularly in tribal communities, the villagers believed in community ownership of land and its products. The caste system was essentially functional in character. The Brahmin conducted religious services and the carpenter or smith prepared agricultural or household implements. Thus specialised occupations were assigned to individual castes. The whole system was evolved on a systematic division of labour. Gradual introduction of money economy in rural areas, development of transport in the villages and formulation of an exploitative or commercial type of agriculture in place of subsistence farming have resulted in a rapid transformation of the rural society. In this process the economic self-sufficiency of the villages is largely destroyed. Influx of cheap machine-made products gradually undermines the products of village artisans. The traditional Indian village represented by its closed society, its economy being based on a harmony between farming and artisan industry and social life being governed by caste and community rules are accordingly passing through a phase of transformation.

Evolution of the Indian Village Community

The Indian village, throughout the ages is said to be a small, self-sufficient and well-knit organisation. In the Vedas—the first book of

the Hindus, in the epics and later in Buddhist and Jain literatures, the villages of India have been depicted as well organised institutions being governed by traditions, conventions, service institutions, customs of co-operative action and such others of their own. The community was guided and guarded by a council, the *panchayat*. Efficient functioning of the village organisation was done by a well-formulated division of labour. Some of the essential traits of this traditional social system have continued right upto the present time. Such an unique entity of the village community has, therefore, attracted the attention of social scientists to justify its nature, functioning and continuity.

Norm and Pattern of the Traditional Society : Early Period

In early Indian, Greek, Chinese, Persian and other literatures, the self-governing character of Indian village communities have been depicted in considerable detail.

Village Panchayat : The entire village organisation was then tied to two-fold systems of village *panchayat* and caste system. The village at that time existed as an independent political and social unit irrespective of any external influences or pressures. Disputes concerning land, property or relating to any offence were settled by the *panchayat* which was formed by members of various castes of the village. Every village had a headman who was also the Chairman of the village *panchayat*. There were accountants, watchmen, tax-collectors and other persons to look after the welfare of the village. The *panchayat* was also responsible for making necessary arrangements of festivals.

The village communities were autonomous in character as the *panchayats* usually performed almost all the functions of the government with the exception of maintaining the army or having relations with a foreign country. The village organisation possessed, more or less, a democratic outlook. The villages in a way existed as little republics having nearly everything they wanted within themselves.

Caste System : The caste system at that time was more or less functional in character. Occupation and caste had direct relationship in the villages. The social stratification of the village community based on caste and occupation may be said to be an important element of the Indian villages. The caste system had its genesis in two fundamental notions of the early Aryans who made Hindustan (the land of the Indus) as their home and were later known as the Hindus. These two notions are described in Rig-Veda as (i) *Varna* and (ii) *Ashrama dharma*, the first being based on differences in caste and the second depicting four different stages of a life-cycle.

According to *Varna dharma*, the position of man in society is decided by birth. The intellectual elites became the *Brahmanas* as they possessed the knowledge of *Brahma* or the Eternal Being. The warriors were known as *Kshatriyas* whose duties were to protect the people and country. People engaged in trade, commerce and agriculture were known as *Vyasyas*. The *Sudras* constituted the fourth group comprising mostly of the working classes.

Ashrama-dharma, another aspect of the social organisation depicted four stages of life, viz., (i) the *Brahmacharya* or student-life stage being free from any vices, (ii) *Grahashta* or family-life stage, (iii) *Vanaprastha* or leading the life of a hermit in a forest, and (iv) *Sanyasa* or renouncing the earthly joys and sorrows.

The traditional four groups of the *Varna* system were decided by birth. It helped in a way to specialisation. At the initial stage, the caste system in ancient India was less rigid but functional or occupational in character. Its hierarchy was determined by the ideas of *guna*, *karma* and *dharma*. The *Brahmanas* were placed at the top because of their possessing the above-mentioned virtues. They were the enlightened ones. The others come in lower hierarchial rankings. At a later stage, the Aryan-Hindus made the caste system somewhat rigid in order to protect themselves from pollution with the Dravidian tribes. The latter groups were brought within the category of the *Sudra* and were either driven out of the purview of the Aryan-Hindu settlement or forced to perform the task of scavengers. They were taken within the Hindu religious group forming a sub-caste (now known as *Harijan*) within the *Sudra*. The caste system thus acquired a wider connotation from the traditional *Varna* occupational group to assimilate the tribal or Aryanised-tribal groups. Thus in a way though the caste system was made very rigid to protect the Aryan-Hindus from pollution, it was made flexible to give non-Aryan labourers or settlers proper place within the village communities. The caste system thus became hierarchial in nature determining the social status of the people living in the villages. In a way, the system still persists in many regions of India.

As the economy of the villages was then primarily linked with agriculture, the peasant castes naturally dominated the villages in numerical strength. Some of them gained proficiency in spinning and weaving. The servicing castes like priests, teachers, barbers, carpenters etc. were often maintained at the cost of the entire village community. The artisans or service castes were often paid in grains at harvest. They were also provided with free food, clothing and even residence. In this way the *jajmani* system gradually made its headway in the fabrics of the Indian villages. The *jajmani* system was able

to create economic and social ties bringing the various castes of the village into one group. Despite minor changes the caste system was operated on a systematic division of labour.

Land-ownership : The working of the rural society at that time was centred round some sort of communal ownership of land, being based on a blending of agriculture and handicrafts. As to the contention of communal ownership of land, there are differences of opinion. The system might have been operative during the pioneering days of Aryan infiltration within the Dravidian cultural realms when the Aryan-Hindus might have imbibed some of the cultural traits of the latter. Cooperative life and joint ownership of land are considered as the survivals of the tribal system. In many villages of Chotonagpur Plateau now inhabited by tribal population, there are *ejmali* (or corporate) lands to meet the requirements of the widows, orphans or other disabled persons. As a result of intermixture of the tribal with other rural communities, the primitive concept of common ownership of land continued to persist in many rural areas of India during the Hindu and even in the Muslim period of Indian history. Communal concept was clearly postulated in ancient literatures over the management of irrigation and water channels and in the maintenance of pastures or forest lands. But on the ownership of crop-lands, descriptions are rather sketchy. Even Baden-Powell (1896) who strongly opposed the idea of joint-ownership of land could not reject the concept. At the time of the advent of British rule in India besides *ryotwari* village (village with individual land holdings), Baden-Powell recognised a type of joint-village covering an extensive area of the country, wherein joint-ownership was honoured. Even the villages of the *ryotwart* type were observed to retain strong relics of tribal equality and therefore of tribal collective life.

The rhythm of social life and rituals of ancient India bore a close relationship to the patterns and types of farming. Predominance of agricultural economy has made the Indian villages the breeding grounds of crop and animal cults (Ishida, 1973). Cults and rituals once forming the essential traits of Indian rural culture persist even today. Agricultural cults depend much on the types and seasons of crop production and as such vary from place to place. In wet climate rice and fish cult become quite popular and most of the rituals take place before, during or following the harvesting of paddy. Rice and fish cults are quite common in East India, but in the dry west and northwest, animals specially cattle and crops specially barley form important ritualistic ingredients.

Societal Changes in the Medieval Period

Notwithstanding several invasions and political upheavals in the country during the last 1,000 years or so, the essential ingredients of the Indian village communities continued to persist without appreciable change. The Pathans or the Mughals did not care much to interfere with the day-to-day life of the villagers. They were interested in the collection of rents or taxes and so long these were realised, there were grounds for little anxiety. Though the autonomous character of the Indian villages was much disturbed during the middle ages and *panchayats* virtually disappeared from records, their essential traits were retained. Lack of adequate support from the then ruling classes resulted in disruption of the self-sustaining character of villages. Occasional conversion of the Hindus by the Muslim rulers created a problem of retaining an unpolluted society, to maintain which the caste structure was made even more rigid and dogmatic. Amongst the lower castes, pollutions were more common. The converts occasionally retained the ingredients of their original castes and in this way the caste systems were also imbibed by the Muslims, the Jews and even by the Christians. In the wake of political uncertainty and turmoil, the caste-*panchayats* followed the trails of the once powerful village-*panchayats* and were responsible for maintaining the functions of that particular caste. Thus even a change in religion does not destroy one's caste. For example, the Jats of the Punjab may be a Jat-Hindu or Jat-Sikh or even a Jat-Muslim. The flexibility has made the Indian society plural in character. Such a system has enabled the people to retain their autonomous character as well as to assimilate people of different cultural regions. This adaptability has helped the Indian society to remain stable in the face of quick changing political and social systems (Kuppuswamy, 1972) particularly during the decay of the Mughal and advent of the British rule in India.

Society in Various Phases of Transformation

Under the British rule, the Indian villages were turned into a part of the national as well as international economy. The villages virtually became the colonies to produce raw materials for the factories of Great Britain. Even in case of famines, cultivation of jute, indigo, tobacco and cotton were encouraged. Introduction of cash crop farming on subsistence type of agriculture brought the concept of money economy for the first time in the arena of the Indian rural system. This system gave a blow to the traditional *jajmani* system. Indigenous village crafts and products were unable to compete with cheap machine-made goods. This had led to the quick decay of the prosperous cottage industry. The villages were faced with scarcity of foodgrains and decay of crafts.

Naturally the self-sustaining economy was destroyed and the villages have become increasingly dependent on towns.

British Period : With the spread of the British federal administration like the judiciary, police organisation, educational and communication system gradually encompassing the villages, the already weak villages or caste-Panchayats began to lose much of their autonomous characters. The new land revenue system brought changes in the ownership pattern and with it the system of cultivation and its relationship with the different members of the rural society. The traditional social order and economy of the Indian villages decayed and parasitic interests began to crop up, who became more interested in exploitation than improving the productivity of the soil or its economy. Individual interest gained importance over collective endeavours. Selfishness and communalism are reflected in widening the gap of land-ownership, land-transfer, disintegration of joint-family system and migration of the economically and culturally better classes of rural population to the towns. Though caste system has become of lesser social significance, it has acquired a greater economic significance. Contextually, the areas of conflicts of interests within the village communities have widened as well as intensified (Singh, 1955).

Independence and Modern Era : The entire gamut of community life in rural India has undergone important changes during the last 25 years or so after independence. Of the various factors introducing such rapid change and transformation in the mosaic of the Indian rural landscape, universal suffrage, abolition of zamindari and other privileged groups, fixation of the ceiling of land holdings, industrialisation and urbanisation, spread of education, introduction of modern innovations in crop-production popularly known as green revolution and expansion of community and village extension services may be cited as important.

Universal Suffrage : The five general elections held since independence (1947) have made the villagers more political and national minded than before. But in the selection of candidates, the question of caste or religion is given preference despite the egalitarian character of the Indian constitution. This is a point to consider. Though caste has loosened its ties in social life from many a village of India with expansion of education and through persistent efforts of different institutions, it has made a new access in the political arena in recent years. This is a factor of great socio-political significance and a new trend in the Indian community life.

Repeated attempts to get rid of the evil effects of the caste system have so far been met with partial success. The Indian Constitution

passed in 1950 granting equal rights to all castes irrespective of birth has undoubtedly helped in loosening the knots of caste problem. It has opened new facilities and opportunities to members of the so-called backward classes and has resulted in the recent increase in inter-caste marriages. But caste endogamy still remains as a living organisation in India. Despite changes brought by modern education, improvement in economic set up and increase in the political consciousness of the people, caste system continues to persist in the Indian life system.

The Constitution has also expanded the rights and opportunities of the people belonging to the so-called depressed scheduled caste, scheduled tribes or other backward classes specially in regard to the State or Federal administration and seats in the representative bodies. Formerly there was a tendency of the people of the lower caste to upgrade their rank and prestige by adopting new occupations or by higher education. But granting of special privilege by the government with a view to improve their status and bring them in the same economic level as the general masses, had led to the growth of a new type of consciousness within the depressed or backward classes. With an eye to gain these extra privilege or concessions, people of the other castes are increasingly enlisting themselves in the category of scheduled or backward classes. Thus the primary motive of such concessions to minimise the existing socio-economic gap is being vitiated.

The factor is also responsible to a change in the leadership pattern of the village societies. The caste-*panchayats* of the backward classes have been suddenly stimulated to new activities and become more interested in grabbing political power than to render real service to their communities. Contextually the caste-*panchayats* are gradually becoming the grounds of operation of political parties. The leadership pattern is therefore gravitating from the hands of the elderly persons to newly rich, educated and influential members of political parties. In many cases, the leadership has gravitated to the bureaucratic or professional middle class from the peasants or persons belonging to members of the landed aristocracy (Bose, 1962). The new opportunities have often led to the growth of caste consciousness or caste tensions.

Land Reform Measures : Abolition of *zamindari* and other privileged groups have not been able to minimise the number of landless labourers or *bargadars* (share-croppers). During the *zamindari* system of land tenure, primarily there were two rural classes, viz., the landlords and the tenants. But implementation of various land reform measures like abolition of *zamindari*, fixation of the ceilings of individual holdings and in some places its consolidation (the last two appears to be contradictory to each other) etc. have led to the growth of three

classes of people in rural areas, viz., (i) individual farmers with large holdings, (ii) individual farmers with small holdings but being brought under some consolidation programmes, and (iii) landless labourers. The first category or the upper class farmer is being benefitted most from the implementation of various programmes because of their ability to invest on modern innovations, while the other two classes namely the rural proletariats are lagging behind for paucity of funds or their inability to make use of the available resources. Moreover, a number of retired administrative officers or urban capitalists are now investing money on agriculture thereby getting the maximum benefit from it. In the distribution and trading system, the rural proletariats are now being exploited by several million intermediaries or middle-men. Elimination of a few landlords was found to be relatively easy but it is really difficult to get rid of the numerous intermediaries from the rural society under the present democratic set-up of the Indian Constitution (Banerjee, 1969). This fact is well-illustrated during the nationalisation of wheat trade in the country (1973) when in the absence of a well-organised government distribution system, procurement programme from the villagers was found to be much below the expectation and to run the rationing system the government has to make necessary import. Sudden spurt in the prices of wheat after nationalisation may be partly ascribed to hoarding of wheat by the intermediaries. These factors naturally result in sharp conflict of interest between the various classes of population. There are increasing tensions between the *jotedars* (owner of big holdings, may be absentee-owners) and *bargadars*.

Urbanisation : Industrialisation and urbanisation are imparting new values on Indian rural areas. Improvement of communication and superposition of an industrial on the existing agrarian economy have led to better exchange of ideas between the villages and the towns. Being confronted with progressive economic hardship, the vulnerable section of the rural population more particularly the landless labourers or members of the scheduled castes and tribes are moving to the towns to find employment in industries, domestic services, municipalities and in other bodies. The artisan and service castes also prefer to migrate to urban areas in search of employment. Occasionally these migrant population now constitute a substantial segment of the urban population. Quite often these immigrants find difficulties in securing jobs and are obliged to live in any type of sheds and accept any occupation. This results in creation of slums and progressive decay of the urban landscape. The towns, on the other hand, have to depend increasingly on the villages for their food, milk, vegetables and services. With the introduction of efficient transportation system like electric trains or fast-moving automobiles, the villages are increasingly being brought within the sphere

of urban influence. Besides production of cereals, the villagers are taking up market-gardening, poultry-keeping and are gradually transforming their subsistence-farming commercially oriented. They are also being benefitted with education, medical and recreational facilities—so far being restricted to the cities. The villagers in a way are therefore, getting themselves increasingly urbanised.

Urbanisation has also resulted in occupational mobility to members of the various caste groups. People in the lower hierarchy are adopting newer occupations to become free from the restrictions of their individual caste group. Such an occupational mobility is more frequent in lower ranked castes because of their receiving improved opportunities in recent years, thereby enabling them to improve their socio-economic status and sharing many things in common with other groups. In a way, the so-called rigidity-fluidity continuum appears to be operating at present with respect to caste and class system in rural India. In many places, the traditional nature of dominance of a caste being based on its numerical strength, ritual, economic and political identities have undergone transformation (Srinivas, 1957). Quite often the economic dominance of an individual or a number of individuals within a particular caste may act as the guiding force (Dube, 1961) rather than their numerical strength or other considerations. This factor has led to the growth of individualism under the new economic set up.

Individualism : Individualism enjoyed an insignificant role in the traditional rural system, as caste organisations did not pay much importance on personal enterprise. Individualism possesses the potentialities of encouraging scientific and technological innovations or bringing revolutionary ideas. In an exaggerated form it is also responsible for rapid disintegration of traditional cultures. The Hindu or even the tribal society did not restrict any one wishing to be too much individualistic but at the cost of renouncing his legitimate rights and duties to the society. With increasing urbanisation, individualism would likely to expand its sphere of influence specially in view of expansion of rapid transportation system, need to expand industrial and commercial enterprises and also because of its allurements to the comforts of modern living.

Green Revolution : It is one aspect of such individualism that has helped in ushering green revolution, at least in some parts of the country. New inputs for better productivity like seeds of improved strains, fertilisers, pesticides, arrangements for irrigation etc. are being provided by the government. But the more enterprising section of the population, namely big landowners or urban land-investors are reaping the maximum benefits of these new facilities. The poor cultivators forming the bulk of the rural population are not much benefitted because

of their financial inabilities to bear the cost of new inputs in agriculture or their possessing too-tiny uneconomic farms or no lands at all. This naturally has resulted in a sharp conflict of interests and social change in the rural areas. This type of new caste- or class-tension is slowly coming out in the open in the form of economic struggles in elections, peasant uprisings (Telengana or Naxalbari movement) and sometimes in local organisations.

It is the enterprising spirit of a section of the rural population consisting mainly of the upper strata that has brought green revolution in certain areas of India. But unless the majority of the rural population are induced to participate in the over-all agricultural development programmes, the green revolution would remain a temporary feature. This is well illustrated in 1972-73 when in the absence of good weather, government policy of lowering the ceiling of holdings and nationalisation of wheat trade, production of wheat has not only been substantially decreased over the previous years but from surplus, India has suddenly become a deficit wheat producing country.

In areas of successful green revolution, the wealthier class of farmers have set up new homesteads in place of the traditional *abads*, particularly noticed in the Punjab village community. This has created more differences between the newly emerging farming classes and existing peasantries.

Community Development and National Extension Services : Programmes of community development and national extension services are designed to promote better living, minimise their existing disparities, and also to induce active participation of the rural people in all stages of their implementations. The theme is based on good theoretical approach. But its operation depends on the aid and reliance on the government. In other words these are executive assignments lacking the initiative of the people and inability of the programme executives to create sufficient confidence and faith on their new lines of approach. Moreover, here again the government machineries rely too much on the economically-dominant minority classes who in their turn naturally prefer to strengthen the power of the ruling classes. The whole process generates greater inequality and wider chasm between the affluent farmers and majority of the working classes. As it stands the new strategy of development as adopted by the government not only fails to achieve its desired objectives but has become definitely harmful to the society.

Spread of Education : Spread of education and its special facilities to backward classes have important impact in imparting changes within the village societies of India. With industrialisation and urbanisation the middle and backward classes have realised the importance of

modern education and are availing themselves every opportunity for the same. This has loosened the concept of pollution within castes more particularly amongst the educated classes in the towns. The concept of pollution is now largely being restricted within the confines of the house, rituals and women. But religion with associated rituals still form the cream of the Indian village society.

Spread of education amongst the women has given them increasing freedom in the society. Women have been granted equal rights of men by law. Divorce and remarriage of the Hindu women are now legally sanctioned (since 1955). Women are increasingly participating in administrative and other functions. Though in theory Hindu marriage is considered to be a sacrament and irrevocable, with the legalised emancipation of women, incidence of divorces, particularly in large westernised cities, is increasing. With such social change the stability of marriages can no longer be taken for granted. But such a transformation and changing values of men and women have largely been restricted in big cities and towns. In the villages the old norms are largely being retained though the society cannot claim to be completely unaffected from the new trend. With frequent contacts between the urban and rural societies, some of the virtues and vices of modernisation are also influencing the rural life. In many cases such urbanisation of rural areas which are still socially and economically unprepared to receive the new trend are creating problems, not always beneficial to the village community at large.

Appraisal

It has become quite apparent that the well-knit social organisation of the Indian village community is now passing through various phases of transformation. For several decades the structure, organisation and ethos of the villages are subjected to various historical, political, economic and sociological forces. Recent attempts to revitalise it by legislative and other measures have created more problems, viz., sharpening of contradictions amongst the various institutions and unleashing of tensions between various classes rather than to bridge the gulf between the rich and the poor, between the higher privileged and lower backward classes. Transformations so far experienced may be said to be minor in comparison to the monolithic structure of the Indian society but these have been able to change a portion of its traditional norms and values.

The types of change those are now taking place have been narrated here in bare outline. Time is not yet opportune to predict the future. This occasionally leads to some fundamental questions. Is a new society emerging on the edifices of the existing one? Will

progressive industrialisation and urbanisation reduce the gap between the rich and poor, between the rural and urban classes thereby establishing a continuum between the villages and towns? Will the development programmes so far undertaken lead to the creation of a classless and casteless society or generate more differences? These are some of the fundamental questions on which depend the hopes and aspirations of over 550 million people of the world.

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NEW LIGHT ON A SOLITARY COIN OF THE VṚISHNIS

KALYAN KUMAR DAS GUPTA

The present paper is a multi-dimensional study of a silver coin, now in the British Museum. The Brāhmī and Kharoshthī legends on its obverse and reverse respectively have disclosed the name of an Indian tribe called Vṛishṇi, so famous for its association with the man-god Kṛishṇa. The coin, only of its kind, was discovered by Cunningham in the last quarter of the last century. Though he has not recorded its findspot, it appears, from his inclusion of the same among the coins of the Audumbaras, another prominent tribe of ancient India, that like the latter the present coin also came from 'Northern Panjab, beyond Lahore'.

Antiquity and Habitat of the Tribe

Copious references to Vṛishṇis are met with in ancient Indian literature,² the earliest being that found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. In this work³ the Vṛishṇis have been mentioned along with another people called the Andhakas. The *Arthaśāstra*⁴ of Kauṭilya referring to the Vṛishṇis as a *saṅgha* states that they had come to grief on account of their inability to check human passions. The *Mahābhārata*⁵ also mentions the confederate Vṛishṇis, Andhakas and other tribes as a *saṅgha* which was headed by Vāsudeva. The association of the Vṛishṇis with the Andhakas is also known from various literary texts. The Purāṇas like *Bhāgavata*⁶, *Vāyu*,⁷ *Brahmāṇḍa*⁸, *Matsya*⁹ and *Brahma*¹⁰ contain numerous references to the Vṛishṇis. These notices clearly show that they were a well-known people in early times. They may be believed to have flourished at least as early as the fifth century B.C., the period to which Pāṇini's work is generally ascribed.

The *Brahmapurāṇa* describes Mathurā as the home of the Vṛishṇis and the Andhakas. After the invasion of Mathurā by the demons, as goes the *Harivaṁśa*¹¹ story, the Vṛishṇis and the Andhakas left the place and established their capital at Dvārāvati or Dvārakā. Mathurā is known from various sources to have been connected in early times with the cult of Kṛishṇa, the celebrated hero of the Vṛishṇis, which may be attributed to the association of this region with the tribe, as the legends show. Moti Chandra¹² connects the Kukuras, traditionally a member of the Andhaka-Vṛishṇi confedera-

tion, with Khokharain in Dasuya Tahsil in Hoshiarpur District of the Punjab which he regards as the home of the ancient Kukuras. From this he concluded that the Vṛishnis should evidently be located somewhere in the same district of the Punjab or nearabouts. He¹³ further suggests that a class of Vaiśyas known as Barah-senis living chiefly in the district of Uttarapradesh, who claim Agroha in the Hissar district of the Punjab (now in Haryana) as their original home, are accustomed to write Vārshṇeya after their names and thus they may be believed to be the descendants of the ancient Vṛishnis. In this connection mention may be made of the Vārshṇeyas, who according to the old *Sūtra* texts, belong to the Vaśishṭha gotra.¹⁴ If the suggestion of Moti Chandra, as noted above, is accepted, the eastern portion of the Punjab between the upper courses of the Ravi and the Bias may be regarded as settlement of the Vṛishnis. But there is no literary evidence or evidence of any other kind in support of his view about the alleged connection of the Kukuras or any section of the Vṛishnis with the Punjab. A single coin of the tribe of unknown provenance is also of no help in the matter of the exact tocation of their settlement. Round in shape, the coin may be described thus :

Obverse : Nandipada pillar with a composite animal in front : half lion - half elephant.

Legend in Brāhmī :

Vṛishṇ(i) r(ā) jajñāgaṇasya tratarasya.

Reverse : An elaborate *chakra*. Legend in Kharoshṭhī :

Vṛishṇirajaṇṇa (ga)...tra...

N.B. Allan in the text of his *Catalogue* (p. 281) accepts Cunningham's reading *Vṛishṇ(i) r(a) jajñāgaṇasya bhubharasya*, but in the *Introduction* gives the above reading as suggested by A. Bergny (see below). The reverse symbol described by him as *dharmachakra* may be justly interpreted as Sudarśanachakra of Kṛishṇa, the Vṛishṇi hero (see below). *Rajāṇṇa* as read by Bergny and Allan on the reverse should obviously be *rajaṇṇa*.



Interpretation of Symbols on the Coins

Wheel : The elaborate wheel with twelve spokes appearing on the reverse of the coin has been described by Cunningham¹⁵ and Allan¹⁶ as a *dharmachakra*. But in view of the coin being an issue of the Vṛishnis, a clan traditionally connected with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, it may be held that it is a representation of the Sudarśanachakra of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, one of the most revered symbols among the early Pāñcharātrins and the Vaishnavas.¹⁷ The symbol seems to be originally a solar one, representing the Vedic Vishṇu, an aspect of Sun, and if

so, its twelve spokes may stand for twelve Ādityas mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

Nandipada pillar with a composite animal : A pillar surrounded by railing has on its top a *nandipada* and in the centre a composite animal comprising of the foreparts of a lion and an elephant. According to Cunningham¹⁸ the crowning object is a *triratna*, but Allan¹⁹ takes it to be a *nandipada*. There is no reason why the railing should be regarded as a Buddhist one as surmised by Cunningham. About the *nandipada* Allan²⁰ says that "it is not possible to be absolutely certain that the *nandipada* is not on the top of the standard."

Interpretation of the Legend

The legend which is both in Brāhmī and Kharoshthī was read by Cunningham²¹ as *Vṛishṇī Raja jnāgaṇasya bhūbharasya*. This reading was not accepted by A. Bergny according to whom the legend, with slight dialectical variations on two sides, reads : *Vṛishṇ (-) r (ā) jajñāgaṇasya tratarasya* (Brāhmī) and *Vṛishṇirajājñā (ga) -tra* (Kharoshthī). Allan in the text of *Catalogue* accepts Cunningham's reading, but in the *Introduction* gives Bergny's reading. He²³ observes : "...the legend is better explained not as Sanskrit but as Prakrit which has been given a Sanskrit appearance gen. in *sya* instead of *sa* ; in inscription of this time when we have a rounded *g* , the *bh* is square, so that  must be *t*, and Bergny's *tratarasya* = *tratarasa* in the Kharoshthī is the correct reading." His reading slightly differs from Bergny's reading inasmuch as he reads *rājajñō* while Bergny reads *rājajñā*.²⁴ Allan²⁵ conjecturally takes *rājajñō* as equivalent to *rājanya*, *rājajñō* possibly being an engraver's mistake for a genitive, on the analogy of *rājñō*. Prakrit *rañño* (cf. Kharoshthī legend). Allan²⁶ is thus inclined to interpret the legend as meaning 'of the protector of the tribe *Vṛishṇirājanya*, i.e. 'of the protector of the Rājanya (or warrior) tribe of Vṛishṇis'. He surmises that the engraver was more familiar with Kharoshthī and the Prakrit dialect and did his best to put the inscription in the Sanskrit form on the obverse.

Bergny²⁹ attempting to explain the meaning of *rājajñā* of the coin-legend, as restored by him, has offered a few suggestions which may be summed up here in his own words. His first suggestion is that *rājajñā* has been made up of *rāja* + *ājñā* (order) and that *rāja* + *ājñā* would be represented by a Prakrit *rājañña* (possibly *rājañṇā* or *rājāñā*) corresponding to the Brāhmī *rājajñā*, with *jñā* for *ñā* as usual in these Sanskritic inscriptions and Kharoshthī *rājāñṇā* with the lingual instead of the palatal nasal. The whole expression should in that case be taken as a *bahuvrīhi* compound, which in pure Sanskrit form



VRISHNI COIN

By courtesy of the British Museum

would be *Vṛishṇi-rāj-ājñā-gaṇasya*, i.e. 'of a family whose name (?) is *Vṛishṇirāja*' or 'whose royal name (?) is *Vṛishṇi*'.

His second alternative suggestion is that as a Prakrit *ñña* or *ṇṇa* may also be derived from a Sanskrit *nya-* the word *rājajñā*, written here as *rājajñā* and *rājāṇṇā* (*rajaṇṇa*) should be corresponding to Sanskrit *rājanya*, 'belonging to the Kshatriya caste' and that the whole be translated as '(the coin) of him whose family are *Vṛishṇi* Kshatriyas (*Vṛishṇi-rājanya Kshatriyas*)'.

Thirdly, he proceeds to show that *Vṛishṇi-rājajñā* may be taken as an instrumental used as a genitive, in which case it is to be supposed that the termination *ñā* of forms like *rāñā* has been irregularly added to the reconstructed stem *rājan*.

One of the conclusions reached by Bergny is that *rājajñā* may be equivalent to *rājanya*. As we have shown above, Allan³⁰ is also of the same view, although he has not attempted to explain it in a definite manner. Bergny takes *rājanya* in the sense of a Kshatriya by caste.

Jayaswal³¹ reads the legend as *Vṛishṇi-rājajñā-gaṇasya trātasya* and explains it as meaning 'of the *Vṛishṇi* *Rājanya* (and) *Gaṇa*—the protector of the country', showing as he suggests that the coins on which it occurs were struck in the name of the *rājanya* and *gaṇa* of the *Vṛishṇis* jointly. In support of his view he refers to Pāṇini who states that there were two *rājanyas* amongst the Andhaka-*Vṛishṇis* (*rājanya-bahuvachana-dvandvendhakavṛishṇishu*, VI. 2. 34) and also the *Kāśikā* which while commenting upon the Paninian *sūtra* in question states that the *sūtra* does not apply to the members of the Andhakas and *Vṛishṇis* as such but to their *rājanyas* only. These *rājanyas*, according to Jayaswal, were 'leaders of families consecrated to the rulership'. In this connection instances supposed to be of 'dual' groups of rulers have been quoted by him from literary allusions: the *Rājanyas* of the groups of Śini and Vāsudeva, Śvaphalka and Chaitraka, the party (*varga*) of Akrura and the party of Vāsudeva, and Vāsudeva and Ugrasena Babrhū.³³

Jayaswal's interpretation is a somewhat laboured one. It is difficult to understand how a coinage could have been issued in the separate names of *rājanyas* and the *gaṇa* as if the *rājanyas* were outside the *gaṇa*. From the coin-legend also the number of *rājanyas* cannot be ascertained. There may, however, be some reason in the points raised by Jayaswal. If *rājanyas* means a ruler, it may be supposed that the coin-legend refers to a type of *gaṇa* government in which power lay in the hands of the *rājanyas* and thus the coin-legend probably means a special type of *gaṇa* meaning *rājanya-gaṇa*. In that

case it must have been issued entirely in the name of the *gaṇa* whose type is specified in the legend and not jointly in the names of two *rājanyas* and the *gaṇa* as has been assumed by Jayaswal.

P. L. Gupta³⁴ is of the opinion that the *Vṛishṇi*s may have formed a confederation with this *Rājanya* tribe. The present coin with the legend *Vṛishṇi-Rājanya* is to be taken as a joint issue of the two tribes, both being named as *gaṇa*. Gupta further suggests that the word *tratarasa* in the legend meaning 'of the saviour' or 'of the protector' may signify that the *Vṛishṇi*s and the *Rājanyas* claim to have protected or saved their land from the hands of foreign invaders. Nothing is, however, known from any other source about their alleged success in repelling foreign attacks, and the extent of the territory supposed to have been saved from alien domination, though the use of *Kharoshthī* is not without significance. It is difficult to believe with the help of a single coin that the combination of the two tribes, if it was a reality, was of the nature of a permanent union but an improvisation due to the special circumstance.

Let us now offer our interpretation of the legend which was almost correctly read by Bergny. A comparative study of the *Brāhmī* and *Kharoshthī* recensions of the legend shows that *jña* of the *Brāhmī rājajña* is equivalent to *ṇṇa* of the *Kharoshthī rajajña*. In other words, *rājajña* corresponds to *rajajña*. While *rajajña* clearly suggests that the corresponding form in Sanskrit is *rājanya*, the word *rājajña* appears somewhat unfamiliar. Now, the word *rājanya* when transformed into *Paiśācī* Prakrit would show *ñña* in the third syllable and this conjunct consonant *ñña* is in majority of cases a correspondent of the Sanskrit conjunct consonant *jña*. Thus *ṇṇa* which comes from *nya* has been transformed into *jña* in the obverse legend. This shows that the Sanskrit form *rājajña* proceeds from a confusion which assumes that the Sanskrit form *jña* is the only correspondent of Prakrit *ṇṇa*. This is obviously not the case. That *nya* may develop into *ñña* is substantiated by the Prakrit grammatical rule as laid down in the work of Hemachandra (IV. 305). The remaining word *tratarasya* corresponds to Sanskrit *trātuḥ*; here *tratarā* is the stem-form which has been supplied by the nominative plural and to this *tratarā* the genitive singular suffix has been added.³⁵ The whole legend *Vṛishṇi-rāja-jñāgaṇasya tratarasya* is thus a product of the false Sanskritization, the intended Sanskrit legend being *Vṛishṇi-rājanya-gaṇasya trātuḥ*, meaning '(coin) of the saviour' of the host of the *Vṛishṇi* kings'.

Who was this saviour of the *Vṛishṇi* kings? To my mind the issuer or issuers of this particular coin was or were inclined to commemorate the lord *Kṛishṇa*, the deified hero of the *Vṛishṇi* clan, following their triumph over some enemies. The practice of dedicating

a State to the presiding deity and issuing coins in his name was not an unknown phenomenon, the well known cases from early Indian history being supplied by the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas³⁶. One may, however, point out the absence of the name of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa in the coin-legends under reference and the presence of the names of Chhatreśvara (Śiva) and Brahmaṇya-Kumāra in the legends on the issues of the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas respectively. It may be argued further that while the Vṛishṇi specie does not bear any figure of Kṛishṇa, the Kuṇinda and the Yaudheya coinages carry the anthropomorphic representations of the presiding deities of the respective tribes on them. The absence of the name or figure of Kṛishṇa on the coin concerned does not, however, pose a serious problem in accepting our suggestion inasmuch as Kṛishṇa, the presiding deity of the Vṛishṇis, has been depicted symbolically through his characteristic emblem Sudarśanachakra. Besides, the god was too well-known to require any mention by name or by any anthropomorphic representation on the coinage of the tribe he was closely associated with; instead he was sought to be described by his devotees in a more honourable way as a 'saviour of the host of the Vṛishṇi kings.'

Date and Weight of the Coin

The coin, made of silver, weighs 32 grains. According to S. K. Chakraborty,³⁷ the tribal states like the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Vemakas, etc. issued silver coins based on the 'Indo-Persian' weight-standard of about 40 grains or thereabouts. The present coin weighing 32 grains may have been based on this weight-standard, but it is doubtful if the difference of 8 grains can be explained as being due to depreciation only.

The standard seems to have been that of the Indo-Greek kings e.g. Eucratides, Apollodotus, Helioeles. etc. and represents the theoretical weight of 36 grains³⁸. It was adopted by the foreign and Indian successors of the Indo-Greeks, viz. the Indo-Scythians and some Pnnjab tribes like the Audumbaras and Kuṇindas. The present coin does not seem to have been far removed in date from the latter issue and may well be placed about the first century A.D. A slightly early date is also possible on the evidence of palaeography.

The following abbreviations have been used.

CAI	Coins of Ancient India by Alexander Cunningham, London, 1891.
DHI	Development of Hindu Iconography by J. N. Banerjea, Calcutta, 1956.
EBSGP	Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara by John Brough, Cambridge, 1953.
GESM	Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata by Moti Chandra, Lucknow, 1945.

HP	Hindu Polity by K.P. Jayaswal, third impression, Bangalore, 1955
JAIH	Journal of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta.
JOI	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
NS	Numismatic Supplement (to the Journal of the Asiatic Society. Calcutta, now defunct).

NOTES

1. *CAI*, p. 70. The coin has been discussed and reproduced by Allan in his *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, (Ancient India), shortened as *Catalogue*, pp. clvi-clvii, 281, PL.XVI,5.

2. Some of the important references only have been quoted in this chapter.

3. IV. 1. 114 ; VI. 2. 34.

4. I. 6. 3.

5. XII. 81. 25.

6. I. 3.23 ; I. 8.41 ; II. 420.1 ; IX. 23.30 ; X. 90.46 etc.

7. I. 145 ; XCVI. 84 etc.

8. III. 61.23 ; III. 71.85.

9. XXXIII. 69.10 ; XLIV. 15 ; XLVII. 12.

10. XIV. 54 ; XVI. 24 ; 49, etc. 11. I. 37 (Vangavasi edition).

12. *GESM.* p. 64. 13. *Ibid.* 14. *EBSGP*, pp. 175, 181, 186.

15. *Loc. cit.* 16. *Op. cit.*, pp. clv, 281. 17. *DHI*, p. 131.

18. *Loc. cit.* 19. *Op. cit.*, p. clv. 20. *Ibid.* 21. *Loc. cit.*

22. *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 416-21.

23. *Op. cit.*, p. clvi

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, pp. clvi-clvii.

27. *Ibid.*, p. clvii.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Loc. cit.*

30. *Loc. cit.*

31. *HP*, p. 35f, 151.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 35f.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

34. *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 203.

35. Analogous cases are the *rāyāṇa* and *apṛāṇa*. *Rāyāṇa* is the stem-form which comes from the nominative plural from *rājāṇaḥ* of the stem *rājan* ; also *apṛāṇa* in the like manner is the stem-form which is obtained from the nominative plural from *ātmanāḥ* of the stem *ātman*. See *JOI*, XVII, March, 1968, p. 24.

36. See author's *A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach*, pp. 99, 217.

37. *NS*, XLVI, p. 37.

38. A. N. Lahiri suggests that Indo-Greek silver coins of 36 grains were struck on an Indian weight standard of 20 ratis. See *JAIH* I, (1967-68), pp. 60-62.

A STUDY OF MAHIMABHAṬṬA'S CONTRIBUTION TO
THE CONCEPT OF DOṢA AND HIS INFLUENCE
ON LATER ĀLAMKĀRIKAS

ANIMA SAHA

In the second chapter of his work, the *Vyaktiviveka*, Mahimabhaṭṭa dwells at length on the concept of rhetoric blemish (*doṣa*). And his treatment of this concept occupies a significant place in the history of its evolution.

Unlike other popular works on Sanskrit Poetics, the *Vyaktiviveka* is an outstanding piece of poetic criticism in which the author examines the theory of *dhvani*, propounded by Ānandavardhana and asserts with consummate logic that there is no valid ground for admission of *vyāñjanā* as a separate *vṛtti*. In his opinion, it is inference which is competent enough to convey whatever sense is claimed to be expressed through *vyāñjana* by the advocates of the Dhvani school.

It is, however, interesting to note that even though Mahimabhaṭṭa is a most uncompromising critic of the Dhvani school, yet he is in perfect agreement with Ānandavardhana when he declares *rasa* as the soul of poetry¹. And like Ānandavardhana he, too, maintains that whatever impedes *rasa*-experience is *doṣa*².

Ānandavardhana is the earliest rhetorician to declare that *aucitya* or propriety is the most important element in *rasa*-experience. Thus he says :—

“अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद्रसमङ्गास्य कारणम् ।

प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत्परा ॥”³

According to him, whatever does not correspond to the recognised standards of propriety is sure to disrupt aesthetic enjoyment. As such any impropriety in respect of *vibhāva*, *anubhāva*, etc., in relation to any particular *rasa*, any impropriety of plot, any impropriety of action or diction of the principal character, *prakṛti*, is regarded by him as detri-

1. काव्यस्यात्मन्ति संज्ञिनि रसादिरूपे न कस्यचिद्विमतः । page 105, *Vyaktiviveka* (Chowkhamba series 1936.)

2. एतस्य च विवक्षितरसादिप्रतीतिविघ्नविधायित्वं नाम सामान्यलक्षणम् ।—

V. V. 152

3. *Dhvanyāloka* (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1940), III. page 330.

mental to the manifestation of *rasa*. Further, impropriety resulting from sudden termination of delineation of a *rasa*, introduction of a *ra a* on an inappropriate context, elaboration of a *rasa* even after it has been fully developed, or employment of figures of speech without any consideration of their efficacy in the development of a particular *rasa* are considered by him as factors harmful to the manifestation of *rasa*. All these improprieties, *anaucityas*, are instances of *rasa-virodha* and in his opinion, they should be carefully avoided by a poet who is anxious to see that his composition turns out to be *sarasa*—full of *rasa*. His advice is—

‘प्रबन्धे मुक्तके वापि रसादीन् बन्धुमिच्छता ।

यत्नः कार्यः सुमतिना परिहारे विरोधिनाम् ॥⁴

Mahimabhaṭṭa, on the otherhand, describe *anaucitya* or breach of propriety as the very essence of *doṣa* and according to him it is of two kinds—*arthāśrayī* and *śabdāśrayī*—impropriety pertaining to sense and impropriety pertaining to word⁵.

Ānandavardhana has not pointed out the nice distinction between different types of *doṣa*. In fact, nowhere in his work, does he state the nature of *doṣa*, although his view regarding *guṇa* is more or less pronounced. He defines *guṇa* as the property of *rasa*, which is the soul of property⁶. Taking recourse to the analogy of a human body, he asserts that just as human virtues like heroism etc., belong to the soul and not to the body, similarly, *guṇas* like *mādhurya* etc., belong to the soul of a *kāvya* (i.e., *rasa*) and not to the media through which it is experienced (i.e., *śabda* and *artha*). Thus, *guṇa* is, in a primary sense, the characteristic of *rasa* alone and may be said to belong to word and meaning only in a secondary sense⁷. Ānandavardhana touches upon *doṣa*, incidentally when he states that in those cases where *śṛṅgāra* is the predominant note, care should be taken to avoid *doṣas* like *śrutidusṭatva*. Thus he states :

“श्रुतिदुष्टादयो दोषा अनित्या ये च दर्शिताः ।

धन्यात्मन्येव शृङ्गारे ते हेया इत्युदाहृताः ॥”⁸

This statement suggests that according to him, just as *guṇa* is a

4. Dhvanyā III. 17.

5. इह खलु द्विविधमनौचित्यमुक्तमर्थविषयं शब्दविषयञ्चेति ।—V. V. II. p. 149.

6. तमर्थमवलम्बन्ते येऽङ्गिनं ते गुणाः स्मृताः ।—Dhvan. II. 6.

7. शृङ्गार एव मधुरः परः प्रह्लादनो रसः ।

तन्मयं काव्यमाश्रित्य माधुर्यं प्रतितिष्ठति ॥—Dhvan. II. 7.

8. Dhvan. II. 11.

property of *rasa*, so also absence of *doṣa* is a necessary aid (*prayojaka*) to the manifestation of *rasa*. It is only in relation to *rasa* that *doṣa* is described as *śābda* and *ārtha*. So long as the intended *rasa*-experience is not hampered that is no case for *doṣa*. Thus, in the case of *śrutiduṣṭatva*, one is reminded of a vulgar meaning which stands in the way of an aesthetic experience and hence it is considered a defect.

Ānandavardhana's cryptic statement is fully utilised by Mahimabhaṭṭa. He, too, maintains that it is only in relation to *rasa* that a *doṣa* is to be considered undesirable. *Artha*, viz., *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* etc., presented by *śabda* suggests *rasa*. Incongruity of application of *vibhāvas* etc., the ingredients of *rasa*, directly hampers their appreciation. Hence, Mahimabhaṭṭa maintains impropriety of such *arthas* as *antaraṅga anaucitya*. On the other hand, an improper use of *śabda* results in inconsistency of the intended sense or hampers its comprehension, which ultimately retards aesthetic enjoyment. Thus impropriety of *śabda* affects aesthetic experience indirectly or remotely and the same is regarded by him as *bahiraṅga anaucitya*⁹.

It is worthy of note that Mahimabhaṭṭa is the one rhetorician to have observed direct hindrance to *rasa* as *arthadoṣa*. Hence, he does not use the word '*artha*' as signifying the mere meaning of a word or sentence, but he uses it in a restricted sense to mean such elements as help the manifestation of *rasa* directly. As such he recasts the definition of *arthadoṣa* as stated by the old rhetoricians to whom only a *doṣa* connected with the *artha* or sense of a word or sentence was known as *arthadoṣa*. It should be noted that what is described as *arthānaucitya* by Mahimabhaṭṭa is, however, termed *rasadoṣa* by the latter theorists, as they do not follow Mahimabhaṭṭa's terminology.

Mahimabhaṭṭa defines *arthānaucitya* only and leaves out discussion on the same since it has been elaborately dealt with by Ānandavardhana and others¹⁰. He does not also go into the detail in respect of numerous other defects described by his predecessors but enumerates only five principal types of *śabdānaucitya*. They are *vidheyāvimarśa*, *prakramabheda*, *kramabheda*, *paunaruktya* and *vācyāvaeana*.

9. Cf. पारम्पर्येण साक्षाच्च तदेतत् प्रतिपद्यते ।

कवेरजागरूकस्य रसभङ्गनिमित्तताम् ॥—V. V. I. 93.

and अन्तरङ्गावहिरङ्गभावश्चानयोः साक्षात् पारम्पर्येण च रसभङ्गहेतुत्वादिष्टः ॥—V. V. II. p. 152

10. Cf. 'तत्र विभावानुभावठगभिचारिणामयथापथं रसेषु यो विनियोगः तन्मात्र-लक्षणमेकमन्तरङ्गमादद्यैरुक्तमिति नेह प्रतन्यतो—V. V. II. p. 149.

Mahimabhaṭṭa accepts only two classes of *anaucitya* and while discussing the nature of *bahiraṅga* he says as follows :

“तत्र शब्दैकविषयं बहिरङ्गं प्रचक्षते ।”¹¹

When *anaucitya* is determined solely from the point of impropriety of the word itself, that should be considered *bahiraṅga*. It would seem, therefore, that he excludes from his scheme, the *arthadoṣa* of his predecessors ; but a thorough study of five *doṣas* will make it clear that he actually includes some of the *arthadoṣas* within the purview of *śabdadoṣas*. In this connection we would like to draw the attention of our readers particularly to Mahimabhaṭṭa's discussion on *paunaruktya*. He does not exclude from the scope of the above mentioned defect the *ārtha* type of the old rhetoricians ; moreover, he points out that since in *śabda* type, too, sameness of meaning is the criterion of the defect, it is unnecessary to accept two classes of *paunaruktya* as only one class pertaining to *ārtha* will suffice¹². So also the example¹³ cited under *vastuprakramabheda* is but a clear case which can rightly be regarded as an instance of *arthadoṣa* of the old theorists.

In fact, by the expression *śabdaikaviṣya* Mahimabhaṭṭa does not intend to exclude *arthaviṣaya* from the scope of *bahiraṅga anaucitya* ; but he emphasises the fact that in the case of a *bahiraṅga* type impropriety is not determined in relation to the particular *rasa*, that is understood, but it rests on the word (or its meaning) itself. The main criterion in determining a *bahiraṅga doṣa* is to see whether its use is a bar or not to the apprehension of the intended sense and not whether its use is incompatible or otherwise with the intended *rasa*. That means that a *bahiraṅga* type of *doṣa* is a universal *doṣa*, detrimental not to any particular *rasa* but *rasa* in general. In the case of a *duḥśravatva* of meter, irregular use of short and long syllables disturb melody of sound. Lack of melody certainly pertains to a word ; but only when the same is incompatible with a particular *rasa*, it is considered a defect ;

11. V. V. I. 60.

12. ‘पौनरुक्त्यमार्थमेकमेवाभ्युपगन्तुं युक्तं न शब्दं तस्यार्थभेदे सत्यदुष्टत्वात्’
V. V. II. p. 288.

13. Cf. इयं गेहे लक्ष्मीरियमृतवन्तिर्नयनयो

रसावस्थाः स्पर्शो वपुषि बहलश्चन्दनरसः ।

अयं कण्ठे बाहुः शिशिरमसृणो मौक्तिकक्षरः,

किमस्या न प्रेयो यदि परमसह्यासुविरहः ॥ Uttarram I. 38

Here, variation of the subject-matter in the second line disturbs smooth understanding, hence it is considered a defect. (V. V. II p. 275.)

it may well be considered a *guṇa*, when it is in tune with the *rasa* in the context. As such, though lack of melody is a property of *śabda*, impropriety, here, is determined in relation to a particular *rasa*. Hence this defect cannot be enlisted as being on a par with the five other types of *bahireṅga doṣa*. Thus he says—

“दुःश्रवत्वमपि वृत्तस्य शब्दानौचित्यमेव । तस्याप्यनुप्रासादेरिव रसानुगुण्येन प्रवृत्तेरिष्टत्वात् केवलं वाचकत्वाश्रमेतन्न भवतीति न तत्तुल्यकक्ष्यततोपात्तम् ।”¹⁴

Śabda and *ārtha* are invariably related. A word is used only to convey a special meaning and an intended meaning is always expressed by a word. As such, Mahimabhaṭṭa does not draw any distinction between *doṣa* as pertaining to *śabda* and *ārtha*; but puts both of them under a single head viz. *Śabdānaucitya*. Later theorists, however, recognise *śabdadoṣa* and *arthadoṣa* as two distinct types. In course of time through analytical study his successors have noticed the subtle distinction between these two types. The distinction is found precisely defined by Mammaṭa, who writes in the *vr̥tīr*

“इह दोषगुणालङ्काराणां शब्दार्थगतत्वेन यो विभागः सोऽन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यामेव न्यवतिष्ठन्ते ।”¹⁵

The criterion of determining whether a *guṇa* or *doṣa* is to be treated as *śabda* or *ārtha* is that if with the change of a particular word, any particular *guṇa* or *doṣa* disappears, it should be regarded as a *śabdaguṇa* or *śabdadoṣa* and if with replacement of a particular word the *guṇa* or *doṣa* persists it is then called *arthanuṇa* or *arthadoṣa*.

Mahimabhaṭṭa's originality lies in the elucidation of the classification of *doṣa* into primary and secondary and his discussion on this point serves as a clue to the later rhetoricians in comprehending the nature of *doṣa* and in formulating fundamental principles regarding the relative position of the different types of *doṣa*—the *śabdadoṣa* and *arthadoṣa* of the old theorists as also of the newly introduced type based on *rasavirodha*, described by Ānandavardhana. Mammaṭabhaṭṭa follows Mahimabhaṭṭa in defining *doṣa* as मुख्यार्थ-हृतिर्दोष¹⁶: Mahimabhaṭṭa's strong influence on him is fully displayed in the way in which he elucidates this definition of *doṣa*. Mammaṭa asserts that whatever hampers realisation of *rasa*, the chief element or essence of poetry is to be considered *doṣa*. Moreover, the defects relating to word and sense should also be included

14. V. V. II. p. 152.

15. Kāvyaaprakāśa (edited by V. R. Jhalkikar) IX, p. 518.

16. Kāvyaaprakāśa VII. 49.

in this definition on the ground that since realisation of *rasa* depends on *artha* and *artha* is expressed by *śabda*, *doṣa* may pertain to *artha* and *śabda* as well. Thus he says :

‘रसश्च मुख्यस्तदाश्रयाद् वाच्यः and ‘उभयोपयोगिनः स्युः शब्दाट्चा स्तेन तेष्वपि सः ॥¹⁷

This definition is accepted as most suitable by later theorists. Hemachandra follows the same line of thinking and defines the two concepts of *guṇa* and *doṣa* in the same *kārikā* as :

“रसस्योत्कर्षापिकर्षहेतु गुणदोषौ भक्त्या शब्दार्थयोः ॥”¹⁸

He explicitly states that *guṇa* and *doṣa* primarily belong to *rasa* ; it is only in a secondary sense that they are described as *śabda* and *artha* i e., *śabdaguṇa* and *arthaguṇa* : *śabdadoṣa* and *arthadoṣa*. So the *vṛtti* runs thus :

“ते च रसस्यैव धर्मा उपचारेण तु तदुपकारिणोः शब्दार्थयोरुच्यते ।”¹⁹

We now propose to give a short description of the five *doṣas* as specified by Mahimabhaṭṭa and find out how they are included in the scheme of the later theorists.

Let us take the case of *vidheyāvimarśa* in the first instance. The principal sense-element conveyed by a sentence is called *vidheya* or predicate. Where the predicate is not pre-eminently stated but remains subordinated in some way or other that constitutes a case of *vidheyāvimarśa doṣa*. As an instance to this *doṣa*, Mahimabhaṭṭa cites the following verse Kuṇṭaka,

“संरम्भः करिकीटमेघसकलोद्देशेन सिंहस्य यः

सर्वस्येव स जातिमात्रनिग्रतो हेवाकलेशः किल ।

इत्याशाद्विरदक्षयाम्बुदघटावन्वेऽप्यसंरब्धवान्

योऽसौ कुत्र चमत्कृतेरतिशयं यात्वम्बिकाकेसरी ॥”²⁰

and shows that it contains three cases of ‘*avimarśa*’ of the *vidheya*. They are to be found in the following : *asamrabdhavān*, *yośau* and *ambikākeśarī*. In the first word negative particle ‘*na*’ has been compound as a result of which the meaning intended by the poet has not found its expression. Thus, the emphasis on negation which is sought to be conveyed, could not be achieved, as negation is subordinated in such a compound. Secondly, as the demonstrative pronoun

17. Kāvya-prakāśa VII 49.

18. Kavyanuśānana I, p. 19.

19. —do—

20. Vakrokti-jīva. I. 128.

'*tad*' is not used, the expectancy raised by the use of 'y'osau' which two words because of their proximate use should be treated as one word, is not satisfied. Thirdly, the compound in *ambikākeśarī* also subordinates intended predication. Here, the poet's intention is to state that the glory of the lion is due to its association with 'Ambikā' as her vehicle, but in a *tatpuruṣa* compound the meaning of the word *Ambikā*, which is the first member, becomes subordinate and so the lion's association with Her is not pre-eminently understood. In order to maintain emphasis upon *Ambikā*, the two words should be left uncompounded. Mahimbhaṭṭa contends that since in a compound one of the constituent words is subordinate to the other, a poet should avoid compound when he intends to lay emphasis on the meaning of a particular word.

This *doṣa* is a new invention by Mahimbhaṭṭa. Pāṇini's rule on *ṣaṣṭhi samāsa* "षष्ठ्याक्रोशे"²¹ prescribes retention of the original case-ending in such words as दास्याः पुत्रः, वृषत्याः कामुकः, when abuse is to be meant. The import there is that if the sixth case-ending remains, then only relation of son with slave or of lover with low-caste woman is understood, which gives rise to the sense of abuse. It seems Mahimbhaṭṭa finds clue to *vidheyāvimarśa doṣa* in the above mentioned statement of Pāṇini, for he quotes Pāṇini's rule in support of his contention. His successors include this *doṣa* in their list put with this difference that they change its appellation. Maṃmaṭa mentions it as *avimṛṣṭa-vidheyāmśa* and shows its two subdivisions viz., one as pertaining to *pada*, and the other to *vākya*. Absence of prominence due to the pattern of the compounded form is regarded by Maṃmaṭa as relating to *pada* and that due to non-use of relative pronoun is considered as pertaining to sentence²². Though Maṃmaṭa's enumeration regarding *avimṛṣṭavidheyām's* shows much more advanced and systematic thinking, yet it is a fact that his source is none other than Mahimbhaṭṭa. It is noticeable that many of the instances quoted by Maṃmaṭa²³ are to be found in the *Vyaktiviveka*. Although in his treatment of *doṣa*, Vidhyādhara follows more or less the method of Mahimbhaṭṭa yet he, too, refers to this *doṣa* as *avimṛṣṭyavidheyāmśa*²⁴. In many places his

21. Pāṇini, VI.3.21.

22. Kāvya-prakāśa VII. p. 285 and 304.

23. स्रस्तां नितम्बात्—(Kumar 18 55) ; नवजलधरः सन्नद्योतयम्—(Vikram. IV. 7) ; जुगोभात्मानम्—(Raghu I. 21) are quoted both in V. V. and K. P.

24. Ēkavali (N. S. P. edition) VI. p. 159.

exposition seems to be an exact reproduction of Mahimbhaṭṭa's explanation.²⁵

The second defect mentioned by Mahimbhaṭṭa is *prakramabheda*. *Prakramabheda* means break in symmetry of expression. For a smooth understanding, it is necessary that a sentence should begin with and end in the same way. Mahimbhaṭṭa asserts that just as journey over an uneven path is not pleasing on account of fear that one may stumble, similarly if uniformity of expression is disturbed in a sentence it is very likely that the apprehension of meaning will be hampered. In ordinary use variation of verbal expression is generally avoided for the sake of easy understanding. Similar mode should be followed in literary composition. Where uniformity of meaning is intended, uniformity of expression should be maintained both in the beginning and at the end of sentence, because a variation in the mode of expression tends to make the meaning appear different. Mahimbhaṭṭa describe in detail various subdivisions of this *doṣa*, viz., *prakrtiprakramabheda*, *pratyaya-prakramabheda*, etc. As an instance of *pratyayaprakramabheda* he cites the following verse from the *Raghuvamśam* :

“रुदता कुत एव सा पुनर्भवता नानुमृतेरवा।यते ।

परलोकजृषां स्वकर्मभिर्गतयो भिन्नपथाः शरीरिणः” ॥²⁶

In the first half of the verse two *hetus* as regards impossibility of getting back Indumati are mentioned. In the one, the *hetu* is directly expressed by the suffix, i. e., the fifth case-ending, in अनुमृतेः, while in the other, it is indirectly conveyed through the adjective of the nominative रुदता, formed by the suffix *śatṛ* in the sense of *hetu*. As this variation of mode of expression hampers comprehension of the intended sense, it is regarded as a case of *prakramabheda*.

Mahimbhaṭṭa incidentally points out that like variations in root suffix etc., variation in turns of expression (भणितिप्रकारः) too, stands in the way of easy understanding. Employment of diverse figures of speech

25. Cf. (a) विभक्तयन्वयव्यतिरेकानुविधायिनी विशेषणानां विद्येयावगतिः—
V. V. p. 207 and Ekavali p. 159.

(b) तत एव चैषां विशेष्ये प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धस्वोत्कर्षाधायिनां शब्दे गुणभावेऽप्यार्थं प्राधान्यं विशेष्याणां शब्दे प्राधान्ये अर्थो गुणभावोऽनूद्यमानत्वात्—V. V. p. 207.

तत एव चैषां विशेष्येषूत्कर्षविकर्षविधायिनामेषां शब्दे गुणभावेऽप्यार्थं प्राधान्यं विशेष्याणां शब्दे प्राधान्येऽप्यार्थो गुणभावोऽनूद्यमानत्वात्—Ekavali P. 156

26. Raghuvamśam VI 1185

for describing a single object is also vitiated by *prakramabheda*²⁷. But it needs be mentioned that the special charm derived from the use of figures of speech conceals the defect resulting from a lack or break of symmetry of expression, so that inspidity is not felt at all. But Mahimabhāṭṭa asserts :

“न हि भङ्गिमणितिविषये वृत्तमनि प्रवर्तेमाना प्रतीतिरपरिसूचितक्रमेणान्न प्रवर्तते इत्युपपद्यते कारणभेदस्यापि कार्यभेदहेतुत्वोपगमात् । तदेतदुक्तं भवति सर्वं एव मणितिप्रकारः प्रक्रमभेदस्य विषय इति ।”²⁸

In this context it may be observed that Mahimabhāṭṭa's view mentioned above does not seem to be justified. Mahimabhāṭṭa himself admits that the general definition of a *doṣa* is that it hampers aesthetic enjoyment. As such, that which does not hamper such enjoyment should not be considered a defect. Similarly, when lack of symmetry in an expression is not felt at all, that does not certainly affect aesthetic enjoyment and therefore, we should not regard such cases as instances of *prakramabheda*. Mahimabhāṭṭa seems to be overzealous here. Moreover, poetic composition itself would be impossible if a poet has to be so much preoccupied with the selection of word and meaning and spontaneity of *kavikarma* would become almost a fiction.

Like the first one, this *doṣa*, too, is an innovation by Mahimabhāṭṭa. Of course, if in a sentence, a subsequent reference does not conform to the sequence of previous enumeration, the same is considered a case of *apakrama* by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin²⁹. According to Mahimabhāṭṭa that would be an instance of the sub-class, viz., *kramaprakramabheda*³⁰. A semblance of *prakramabheda* can also be found in the *viparyaya* of *samatā*, a *guṇa* mentioned by Vāmana. *Samatā* is defined as symmetry of diction³¹. In the counter example³² cited by Vāmana, it is to be

27. Cf. एकस्मिन्नेव वस्तुनि निर्वर्ण्यमाने महाकवीनां या विचित्रा भङ्गिमणितयो-
लंकारसंज्ञास्तास्वायं प्रक्रमभेददोषो दुर्निषेधः स्याद् विशेषाभावात् । सर्वं बोधः ।
तत्राप्यस्मान्निरयमिष्यत एव ।—V. V. II. P. 273.

28. V. V. II page 274.

29. Kāvya-lamkāra IV 20 ; Kāvya-darśa III 144.

30. V. V. II page 267.

31. मागोभेदः समता—Kāvya-lamkāra-sūtra-vṛtti III 1. 12

32. प्रसीद चण्डि ! त्यज मन्युमञ्जसा

जनस्तवायं पुरतः कृताञ्जलिः ।

किमर्थमुत्कम्पितपीवरस्तन-

द्रयं त्वया लुप्तविलासमास्यते ॥

seen that in the first half the expression is in the active voice, but passive voice is used in the second half. This type of variation in the mode of expression is regarded as undesirable, hence it is enlisted as *sūkṣma doṣa*. According to Mahimabhaṭṭa this would be an instance of the sub-class *kāraṇaśakti prakramabheda*³³. *Prakramabheda* bears slight similarity also with *anirvyūḍha arīṭimat*³⁴ mentioned by Bhoja. *Anirvyūḍha* is as the reverse of *mādhurya guṇa*, which of course is different from the *ādhurya* as defined by Daṇḍin. From a perusal of the instance³⁵ quoted by Bhoja, it is evident that a change of suffix, viz., sixth-case-ending in the first half and seventh in the second to denote आचार hampers easy understanding, hence that is regarded as undesirable. According to Mahimbhaṭṭa this would be a case of *vibhaktiprakaramabheda*³⁶. Mammatabhaṭṭa renames this *doṣa* as *bhagnaprakrama* and elaborately describes its various subdivisions. It is noticeable that with the exception of one illustration only, as cited by Mammata, all the rest are traceable in the *Vyaktiviveka*³⁷. Vidyādhara calls it *prakramabhanga*.³⁸

Having discussed *prakramabheda* Mahimbhaṭṭa explains the nature of *kramabheda*, which is described as violation of usual sequence of words in a sentence i. e., misplacement of pronouns, prepositions, adverbs and conjunctive particles. He cites for instance the following half verse from the *Raghuvaṃśam* :

“तीर्थे तदीये गजसेतुबन्धात् प्रतीपगामुत्तरतोऽस्य गङ्गाम् ।”³⁹

33. V. V. II. page 261.

34. Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa I. 38.

35. नखिनां च नदीनां च शृङ्गिणां शस्त्रपाणिनाम् ।

विश्वासो नैव कर्तव्यः स्त्रीषु राजकुलेषु च ॥

36. V. V. II. p. 258.

37. cf. examples of

(i) प्रकृति प्रक्रमभेद—नाथे निशाया—etc., V. V. page 246 and K. P. page 366

(ii) प्रत्ययप्रक्रमभेद—यशोविगन्तु etc., V. V. page 250 and K. P. page 368

(iii) सर्वनाम प्रक्रमभेद—ते हिमालयमामन्त्र्य etc., V. V. page 248 and K. P. page 369.

(iv) प्रयायप्रक्रमभेद—महीभूतः पुत्रवतोऽपि etc., V. V. page 251 and K. P. Page 369.

(v) उपसर्गप्रक्रमभेद—विपदोऽभिमवात्यविक्रमं etc., V. V. page 256 and K. P. page 371.

38. Ekavati VI. 3.

39. Raghu XVI. 33.

Here the pronoun *iadiya* placed before the noun *gangā* is incapable of conveying the sense properly for the rule is that a pronoun should always be mentioned after the noun for which it stands. So the verse is an instance of *kramabheda doṣa*. He also cites examples of sequence of propositions, etc.

This *doṣa* is also an innovation by Mahimbhaṭṭa. Maṇmata mentions the absence of sequence of particles and pronouns as *akrama, doṣa* ; while absence of sequence in the case of other words is included by him under the *doṣa* named *asthānasthanapada*.

Regarding the two *doṣas* just mentioned, Dr. V. Raghavan comments : *prakramabheda* and *kramabheda* are related flaws and are new and amplified form of old *apakrama*.⁴⁰ We are afraid, we cannot accept his view. *Apakrama* of the old theorists is certainly included within the purview of *prakramabheda* ; but to regard *prakramabheda* and *kramabheda* as related flaws does not appear to be judicious. Symmetry of expression in the beginning and at the end of a sentence helps our understanding of the import and as such absence of such symmetry is considered the defect of *prakramabheda*. In *apakrama*, order of enumeration in the beginning is not followed in a subsequent reference creating some difficulty in understanding the intended sense. Thus *apakrama* is a variety of *prakramabheda*, viz., *kramaprakramabheda*. In the case of *kramabheda*, however, misplacement of words in a sentence disturbs the syntax. Violation of rules governing grammatical arrangement of words in a sentence is at the root of this defect. In *prakramabheda* absence of symmetry only brings about a hitch in understanding, but the meaning is somehow understood ; on the other hand, in *kramabheda* misplacement of words is incapable of conveying the sense intended. Thus although semblance in appellation is there—a sharp difference separates the scope of one defect from that of the other. There seems to be no justification in regarding them as related flaws.

The fourth defect mentioned by Mahimbhaṭṭa is *paunaruktya*, which is repetition of the same sense. If the senses of the words of identical forms are different and even if the senses of the repeated words be the same but the purport is different, then of course, repetition of same words will not be a defect. Mahimbhaṭṭa subdivides *paunaruktya* under five classes, viz., pertaining to *prakṛti*, *pratyaya*, *prakṛti-pratyayobhaya*, *pada* and *vākyaṛtha*. He cites many instances explaining its extensive scope.

Paunaruktya is not a new defect. It has been discussed by all

40. Śrīgāraprakāśa (1963 edition), p. 241.

the famous rhetoricians since Bharata. Though different appellations are given to it by different *ālamkārikas* their characteristics are the same. Thus *paunaruktya* is not an innovation of Mahimbhaṭṭa, but the author's originality is to be commended for his most detailed and subtle discussion on it.

In Kāvya prakāśa, *panuoruktya* is presented as three different *doṣas*, viz., *kathitapada* and *punarukta*⁴¹. The first one is classed under *vākyadoṣa*, but the other two are regarded as *arthadoṣas*.

The last-mentioned *doṣa* is *vācya-vacana* which means non-expression of that which must be expressed. Any deviation from the mode of expression that is suitable for easy understanding is *vācya-vacana*. The scope of this *doṣa* is very extensive. In a sense, all the four *doṣas* mentioned before may fall under this *doṣa*; for all of them are but mis-statements. Mahimbhaṭṭa quotes the following famous *śloka* from *Vikramorvaśīyam*⁴²

“नवजलधरः सन्नद्धोऽयं न दृष्टनिशाचरः
सुरघनुरिदं दूराकृष्टं न तस्य शरासनम् ।
अयमपि पदुधीरासारो न वाणपरम्परा
कनकनिकषस्निग्धा विद्युत् प्रिया न ममोर्वशी ।”

and says that to make the idea clear the pronoun *idam* should have been expressed in the last line; so this verse is an instance of *vācya-vacana*. He shows various other instances of it. In this connection he asserts that, where a particular *ālamkāra* is suitable, the use of any other *ālamkāra* should also be counted as a *vācya-vacana*. He prefers *samāsokti* to *śleṣa* and *śleṣa* to *upamā*, since according to him they are capable of producing an additional charm. This is quite unique and he establishes his view-points with various subtle arguments. It is worthy of notice that many of the passages cited by Ānandavardhana as instances of *śabdaśaktimūla dhvani* are regarded by Mahimbhaṭṭa as instances of this defect. It is to be noted here, that, he dilates long on this topic, which is necessary because he does not accept *vyāñjanā* as a necessary aid to the comprehension of meaning. The following famous stanza from the *Sūryaśataka* is considered by him an example of this defect.

41. V. I. Repetition of identical words conveying the same meaning is a case of *kathitapadana* : direct verbal expression of a meaning already understood on the strength of competency is *apustata* and repetition of the same meaning through different words is an instance of *punaruktatā*.

42. IV. 1.

दत्तानन्दाः प्रजानां समुचितसमयाकृष्टसृष्टैः पयोभिः
 पूर्वाह्णे विप्रकीर्णा दिशि दिशि विरमत्यह्नि संहारभाजः ।
 दीपतां शोदीर्घदुःखप्रभवभवभयोदचदुत्तारनावो
 गावो वः पावनानां परमपरिमितां प्रीतिमुत्पादयन्तु ॥¹³

He maintains that, here use of words like *ca*, *iva* is required to complete the meaning intended to be expressed by the poet. Though the different adjectives of the *upameya* (*praṣṭuta*) viz., the sun are such that they can qualify *apraṣṭuta* also, viz., Surabhi, the heavenly cow, similarity between the Sun and Surabhi cannot be apprehended until and unless a word is used to bring out the same ; hence this passage is a case of *vācyāvacana*. According to Ānandavardhana, on the other-hand, the *apraṣṭuta* also, viz., Surabhi, the heavenly cow, is made available, to the reader on the strength of the adjectives of the *drastuta* viz., the Sun and this is possible, as he opines that there is similarity between the *praṣṭuta* and the *apraṣṭuta*, which is suggested.

Mahimbhaṭṭa mentions also another aspect of this *vācyavacana doṣa*, *avācyavacana* ; which is expression of what is not worthy of being expressed.

Though Mahimbhaṭṭa discusses only five *doṣas*, yet it must be noted that his elaborate discussion in connection with the two supplementary *doṣas*—*vācyāvacana* and *avācyavacana* supplied clue to many *doṣas* enunciated by his successors. They are included with the same appellation only by Vidyādhara in his *Ekāvali*. The *anabhihitavācyā doṣa* described by Mammata may be regarded as having evolved from *vācyāvacana* of Mahimbhaṭṭa. It can also be safely concluded that for some other *doṣas* like *adhikapada* *asthānasthapada* *apuṣṭa*, etc., the inspiration came from Mahimbhaṭṭa's discussion.

Mahimbhaṭṭa exercised much influence on the rhetoricians that came after him. It would perhaps be not any exaggeration to opine that his treatment of the concept of *doṣa* has not only thrown light on, but regulated subsequent discussions in this line.

Of course, one should not forget that there exists a fundamental difference in the process of aesthetic experience between him and the author or Dhvanyāloka ; non-recognition of *vyāñjanā* is one important feature of Mahimbhaṭṭa's conception of *rasa*. Mammata, too, being an exponent of the Dhvani school cannot accept Mahimbhaṭṭa's approach. But whatever that may be, it can be safely concluded that Mahimbhaṭṭa's elaborate treatment of *doṣa* inspired Mammata and the latter wrote on

this poetic concept in a manner that cannot but remind the reader of Mahimbhaṭṭa's influence on him.

We are usually familiar with the contribution of the author of the Kāvya prakāśa to the topic and are inclined to think that his observations are practically the last word in the subject. It remains in the fitness of things, therefore, to be pointed out here, that Mammaṭa owes a great deal to the genius of Mahimbhaṭṭa for his critical insight into the problems of Sanskrit poetics.

THE DATTAKA-CĀNDRIKĀ AND PŪRVA-MIMĀNSĀ

S. G. MOGHE.

According to some scholars, the Dattaka-Candrikā (D. C.) is a treatise on adoption by Kuberabhaṭṭa who flourished after the 13th century A. D. and before the end of the 16th century A.D. But this is incorrect. According to MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, the real author of the treatise D. C. is Raghumaṇi whose probable date is 1800 A.D. The last verse¹ of the Dattaka-Candrikā is interpreted by the scholars so as to derive the name Raghumaṇi as the real author of this treatise. And the long standing controversy regarding the authorship of this treatise came to an end. It is also quite likely that Kuberabhaṭṭa or Kuberapaṇḍita seems to be the Paṇḍita appointed by Colebrooke and he made the literary forgery of the work of Raghumaṇi who was quite well-known in Bengal.

Raghumaṇi, the author of the D.C. has introduced the Mīmāṃsā-technical discussions for arriving at the pointed conclusion. In this paper, therefore, an attempt is made to determine the position of the author of the D.C. as a close student of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and his place among the writers on the Dharma-Śāstra.

The comparison of Raghumaṇi with Nandapaṇḍita, the author of the Dattaka-Mīmāṃsā (D.M.) is also interesting and instructive. The probable date of Nandapaṇḍita according to MM. Dr. P. V. Kane is 1595 A.D. to 1630 A.D. An attempt is also made in this paper to point out the influence of Nandapaṇḍita over the writing of Raghumaṇi in resorting to the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā doctrines for arriving at the pointed conclusion. An attempt is also made in this paper to make the proper comparison of our author Raghumaṇi with other writers on Dharma-Śāstra like Vijñāneśvara and Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of 12 Mayūkhya only from the Mīmāṃsā point of view and the method of treatment to the topics. The following is an attempt in this direction :—

1. The author of the D.C. has employed about six maxims-Mīmāṃsā and popular—in the course of his discussion. The use of the Kapiṇjala Nyāya p. 28, Daṇḍāpūpikā Nyāya p. 46, Siddhe satyāraṁbhe Niyamāya p. 68, Vidheyagatam Viśeṣaṇam Avivakṣitam p. 6, Pratinidhi

* References are to the edition of the Dattaka-Candrika with the Marathi Translation published by Govt. Press, Boroda in 1904.

1. रम्येषा चन्द्रिका दत्तपद्धतेर्दक्षिका लघु ।

मनोरमा सन्निवेश रङ्गिणां चर्मासारणी ॥ D. C. p. 106.

Nyāya p. 6 and Apratiṣiddham paramatam anumatam bhavati p. 24, may be noted in this respect.

While discussing the conduct of a man who is impotent or whose offspring has died, Raghumaṇi has quoted the text² of Vṛddha-Gautama. This verse of Vṛddha-Gautama means 'Having given the pieces of cloth, a pair of ear-rings, a turban and a ring for the fore-finger to a priest religiously disposed who is a follower of Visnu and well-versed in the Vedas, one should adopt a son only after respecting the king and virtuous brahmins by the Madhuparka ceremony. In this text, the word *dvijān* occurs and Raghumaṇi, following the principle of Kapinjala nyāya, states³ that the word *dvijān* refers to the three brahmins. It may be noted here that the same view⁴ is upheld by Nandapaṇḍita in his D. M. Incidentally it may be added here that Nandapaṇḍita has not used the same nyāya but has virtually followed the principle of the Kapinjalanyāya. This is also further clear from the commentary⁵ Mañjari on the D. M. The above discussion also helps us to rightly infer that Raghumaṇi is influenced by the view point of Nandapaṇḍita.

Again while discussing the right of inheritance of a son begotten by a man of the servile class on his female slave or the female slave of his male slave, Raghumaṇi quotes the verse from the Manu-Smṛti IX.179 and the text of the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti II.113 and states⁶ that those are entitled to get complete share if the father is alive and half share after death of the father. He further argues that in that case it automatically follows that *Kṣetraja* and *Dattika*-sons also are entitled to the same share, following the principle⁷ of the Daṇḍāpūpikā nyāya. What Raghumaṇi means to say is that if the sons of the female slaves are entitled to get the share, then the *kṣetraja* and the *Dattika*-sons—the better ones—must also get share in the ancestral property. Here also it may be noted that Vijñāneśvara and Nilakaṇṭha have not used this maxim in this context, though it is true that they have used the same maxim in the other contexts. This also independently helps

2. वाससी कुण्डले दत्त्वा उष्णीशञ्चागुलीयकम् । दत्तकचन्द्रिका = D. C. p. 28. आचार्य धर्मसंयुक्तं वैष्णवं वेदपारगम् ॥ etc.

3. द्विजानिति बहुत्वं त्रित्वपर्यवासिनम् । कपिञ्जलन्यायाय । *Ibid.*, p. 28

4. द्विजान् त्रीन् याचनार्थतया मधुपर्कादिना संपूज्येत्यर्थः । तिकमीमांसा. P. 152

5. *Ibid.*, p., 152.

6. सति पितरि, क्षेत्रजदत्तकादीनाभौरसेन समांशः असति तु तदद्वांशः । दत्तकचन्द्रिका p. 98

7. दासीपुत्रस्यापयोरसेन समांशाविधानेन पितुरनन्तरं भ्रातृरहितस्य तस्यैव दौहित्रेण सह विभागदर्शनेन च दण्डापूपायिताः । दत्तकचन्द्रिका. p. 9.

us to conclude that Raghumaṇi has touched upon some of the places of the Dharma-Śāstra, left untouched or partly touched by his predecessors, though in a very small measure.

II. Raghumaṇi quotes the opinions of the predecessors on some particular technical points and then proceeds further with the refutation of the same point without resorting to the Mimāṃsā technical point.

This point can be best illustrated by inviting the attention of the readers to the text⁸ of the Manu-Smṛti IX.168 quoted by Raghumaṇi in his D.C. The expression sadṛśam occurs in this text. Here Raghumaṇi refers to the view point of Medhātithi who holds that the expression sadṛśam means 'equal by family and qualities.' But Raghumaṇi disagrees with Medhātithi and states that the expression sadṛśam means 'equal by caste only and also cares to assign his reason for the same. He relies on the textual authorities of Śaunaka, Yājñavalkya and Vṛddha Yājñavalkya and points out that the view point of Medhātithi is not supported by the express texts of the Dharma-Śāstra. In this context, it will be reasonable to point out that even the same view point is also upheld by the authors of the Vyavahāra-Mayūkha⁹ and the Viramitrodaya. Here also it should be noted that for arriving at this conclusion, Nilakaṇṭha has employed the principle of Upasamhāra the Mimāṃsā technical point, and has also taken care to quote the opinion of Kullūka¹⁰ in his support. One will have to admit that like Nilakaṇṭha, our author Raghumaṇi has not employed the Mimāṃsā technical point to arrive at the same pointed conclusion.

III. We further notice the respectable amount of similarity in the writers on Dharma-Śāstra in the employment of the Pūrva-Mimāṃsā maxims. In this respect, our author stands in the list of the well-known authors like Nilakaṇṭha and Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, the author of the Smṛticandrikā. Generally the readers of the Dharma-Śāstra come across the use of the maxim 'Uddeśyagatam viśeṣaṇam avivakṣitam.' 'But Raghumaṇi has employed the principle¹¹ of 'Vidheyagatam viśeṣaṇam avivakṣitam.' The converse of this maxim can be noticed by a careful reader in the Śuddhi Mayūkha of Nilakaṇṭha. Nilakaṇṭha has used the maxim¹²

8. माता पिता वा दद्यातां यमद्विः पुत्रमापादे ।

सदृशं प्रीतिसंयुक्तं स ज्ञेयो दत्तमः सुतः ॥ मनुस्मृति. IX. 168.

9. Also see व्यवहारमयूख. p. 108.

10. सदृशं जात्येति कुल्लुकभट्टः । व्यवहारमयूख. p. 108.

11. अपुत्रेणेत्यत्र पुंस्त्वैकत्वयोर्विधेयाविशेषणतयाऽविवक्षितम् । दत्तकचन्द्रिका. p. 6.

12. Also see शुद्धिमयूरव. p. 98.

'Vidheyagatam viśesaṇam vivakṣitam' in interpreting the text of the Kātyāyana-Smṛti. In the employment of the 'Hetuvāt nigadādhikaraṇa-nyāya, our author Raghumaṇi also resembles Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa who has used the same principle¹³ in the Smṛticandrikā. In addition to this, in interpreting the text of the Manu-Smṛti IX. 106, Raghumaṇi suggests that the expression 'aputreṇa' being the adjective of 'na kāryah is not intended to be stressed.

IV. In avoiding the fault of Vākyabheda, our author Raghumaṇi ranks in the list of Nīlakaṇṭha and Śaṅkarācārya. In interpreting the text¹⁴ of Nārada Raghumaṇi has avoided the fault of Vākyabheda which arises when in a single sentence two injunctions are laid down. In this respect, the comments²⁵ of Raghumaṇi are noteworthy and deserve to be pointed out. It will not be improper if one points out that Vākyabheda is an important Mīmāṃsā technical term and even the great commentators like Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka have committed blunders in violating the principle of this term. A careful reader of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and Dharma-Śāstra should carefully note the important places¹⁶ of the blunder on the part of these two giants in the field of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā.

V. In the employment of the principle of Upalakṣaṇa, our authors Raghumaṇi comes very close to the other writers on the Dharma-Śāstra like Kullūka and others. In interpreting the text of the Dharma-Śāstra as a fit example of Upalakṣaṇa, our author Raghumaṇi does not cite the necessary textual authority in his support. In interpreting the text of the Manu-Smṛti IX.106, Raghumaṇi suggests that the word putram in this text is illustrative¹⁷ and does not cite any authority in support. Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of the 12 Mayūkhās follows this treatment¹⁸ of citing the textual authority in support in interpreting the text of Dharma-Śāstra as a fit case of Upalakṣaṇa. In this respect, it is reasonable to point out that Nandapaṇḍita in his D.M. has also interpreted the text of the Manu-Smṛti IX.106 as a case of Upalakṣaṇa and also quotes the stanza from the Manu-Smṛti IX.137 in his support. The above discussion also indicates that in the matter of citing the

13. Also see. स्मृतिचन्द्रिका-श्राद्धकाण्ड. p. 422.

14. Also see दत्तचन्द्रिका. p. 94.

15. अन्यथा वाक्यभेदे गौरवम्। Ibid., p. 94.

16. Vide विद्यज्ञानेश्वर quoted by नीलकण्ठ. व्यवहारमयूख. 1'. 146 and अपरार्क on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति II. 135-36.

17. अत्र पुत्रपदं पीत्रप्रपीत्रयोरायुपलक्षणम्। दत्तचन्द्रिका. p. 4.

18. Also see :— व्यवहारमयूख. p. 50.

necessary authority for the use of this technical term, our author Raghumaṇi is rather careless.

VI. Some of the principles used by Raghumaṇi are also used by Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary¹⁹ on the Vedānta Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. This point can be further clarified by inviting the attention of the readers to the principle of the maxim 'Paramatam apratiṣiddham anumatam bhavati' used by Raghumaṇi in his D.C. The principle of this maxim means that if the opinion of others is not challenged or opposed, then it becomes as good as accepted. This principle is used by Raghumaṇi in interpreting the text²⁰ of Vasiṣṭha. The very fact that the desire of a wife is not opposed by her husband, is indicative of her decision or desire being accepted by him. It is further interesting to note that for giving the above explanation²¹ on the basis of the above-quoted maxim, our author has quoted a stanza from the text of the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti in support. In this respect, it deserves to be noted that both Viṣṇāeṣvara and Nīlakaṇṭha do not quote this text of Vasiṣṭha and thus they have not cared to use the principle of this maxim. A careful reader of the D.M. will remember here that the author of the D.M. has also used the principle of the maxim 'Paramatam apratiṣiddham anumatam bhavati' in interpreting the text of Śākala and also the line' समान गोत्रजाभावे पालयेदन्यगोत्रजम् indicating thereby that one should adopt a son from one's own caste ; otherwise there would arise the contingency of adopting the son from the different castes. He further cites the texts of Vṛddha Gautama to show that even if the son from the other caste is adopted in the absence of the son from the same caste, yet he should not be given a share in the property. This view is held by Śaunaka. The very fact that as the adoption of the son from the other castes is not expressly prohibited by the other texts, the natural conclusion is that it becomes acceptable to the Śāstras. This is how the principle of the above maxim is utilised by the author²² of D.M to show that one can adopt a son from the other castes as this adoption is not prohibited by the express texts.

19. For परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतं भवति see. शांकरभाष्य on the वेदान्तसूत्र. II. 4. 12.

20. न स्त्री पुत्रं दद्यान् प्रतिगृह्णीयाद्वा अन्यत्रानुज्ञाना कर्तुः। वशिष्ठ quoted in दत्तकचन्द्रिका. p. 24.

21. अनुमतिश्च अप्रतिषेधेऽपि भवति । अप्रतिषिद्धं परमतमनुमतं भवतीति न्यायात् । *Ibid.*, p. 24.

22. Also see. दत्तकमीमांसा I', 54.

VII. Due credit must be given to our author Raghumaṇi for making the best use of the Mīmāṃsā technical term with the intention of showing the purposefulness of the text. In this respect, it should be noted that Raghumaṇi has used the principle of Pratiprasava (i.e. exception to the exception or exception to the negative rule) in interpreting the stanzas²³ from the Purāṇas. These stanzas lay down that if the Saṁskāras upto caula are performed in the case of any body in the house of his father, then he does not become the son of the adopter. This, however, is a negative rule. Raghumaṇi further points out that he will become his (adopter's) son only if the same Saṁskāras are again performed on the boy. Thus, our author has shown the utility of the text of the Purāṇas by using the principle²⁴ of Pratiprasava.

VIII. It is significant to note that like other writers on the Dharma-Śāstra, our author Raghumaṇi also refers to the view point of the well-known Mīmāṃsaka Śābara. He refers to the view²⁵ of Śābara by the expression 'bhāṣyakāraiḥ' on the point of Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa. It may be noted here that he does not quote verbatim the opinion of Śābara on Jaimini's Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Sūtra with facts and figures but only gives the gist²⁶ of the commentary of Śābara in his own words. In this respect, it will not be out of place and far from the truth, If I invite the attention of the careful readers to the exact sentence²⁷ from the work of the author of D. M. on this point. From this it is quite clear that the author of the D. M. points out in express words that this is the opinion of Śābara. The above discussion also helps us to conclude that our author Raghumaṇi is highly influenced by Nandapaṇḍita but he is rather careless in naming the person whose opinion is referred to here.

IX. Sometimes, however, it is noticed that Raghumaṇi also quotes a line from the text of Jaiminiya-Nyāya-Mālavistara of Mādhavācārya on the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Sūtra IV. 1.9.24 with same changes here and there. Here also he does not name the authority he is relying on. This point can be best illustrated from the following discussion. When the ques-

23. पितृयोगेण यः पुत्रः संस्कृतः पृथिवीपते ।

आचूडान्तं न पुत्रः सः पुत्रतां याति चान्यतः ॥ दत्तक चान्द्रिक । p. 42.

24. जनकगोत्रेण कृतचूडान्तसंस्कारस्य पुत्रत्वं निषिध्यं
प्रतिग्रहीत्रा पुनचूडादिकरणे तत् प्रतिप्रसूनम् । *Ibid* p. 42.

25. विवृतचैतवाप्यकारैः । *Ibid.*, p. 50.

26. Also see. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

27. व्याख्यानं चैतच्चवस्वामिभिः । दत्तकमीमांसा 1'. 204.

tion arises—whether the mixture of hot milk and curds is intended for producing āmikṣā²⁸ or vājinam,²⁹ the *prima facie* view is that it is meant for producing both. But the accepted conclusion is that it is meant for producing āmikṣā and not for producing vājinam. The main aim (prayojanam) at the back of this mixture is to produce āmikṣā and not vājinam. It is only incidentally that vājinam is produced. This principle is used by Raghumaṇi in the interpretation of the text of Manu-Smṛti IX. 283. This stanza³⁰ is quoted below for the proper understanding of the discussion. Here the point is whether any married woman who is desirous of adopting a son for her husband, should take the express permission of her husband or not. Just as in the above example of the mixture, the main aim is to produce āmikṣā, in the similar manner, here also the main intention is to take the permission of the husband. And just as on account of the mixture of hot milk and curds, the vājinam is produced only incidentally, in similar manner, the son thus adopted also incidentally becomes her son. Here what Raghumaṇi means to say is that a married lady cannot adopt a son without the permission of the husband.

X. Due credit must be given to our author for making the best use³¹ of the nyāya known as 'hetuvat niga-dādhikaraṇa' from the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā I. 2.26.30. This nyāya states that the veda is the final authority in all matters pertaining to sacrifice ; it does not stand in need of giving reasons for its prescriptions but it may simply eulogise an act only to induce people to perform it. Therefore, in the above adhikaraṇa, Jaimini does not assign any reason but according to him the vedic statement itself is to be treated as recommendatory. This principle of the hetuvat nigadādhikaraṇa nyāya is used by Raghumaṇi to decide the scope of the text³² of Vasiṣṭha that one should not give the only son in adoption and the adopting person also should not adopt

28. तस्य कश्चिदंशो घनीभूयं पृथग्भवति....तदाभिक्षां इति । मीमांसामण्डन.
p. 162.

29. तस्य कश्चिदंशो....अवशिष्टश्च जलरूपेण अवतिष्ठते....तद् वाजिनमिति ।
Ibid., p. 162.

30. सर्वासामेकपत्नीनामेकां चेत् पुत्रिणी भवेत् ।

सर्वास्तास्तेन पुत्रेण प्राह पुत्रवती मत्तः ॥ Quoted in दत्तकचंद्रिका p. 18.

31. द्यामुष्यायणे च हेतुवन्निगद दर्शितसन्तमिति विच्छेदाभावान् दत्तकचंद्रिका.
p. 22.

32. न त्वेकं पुत्रं दद्यान् प्रतिगृह्णीयाद्वा । स हि सन्नानाय पूर्वेषामिति
वसिष्ठस्मरणात् । *Ibid.*, p. 22.

from a person his only son. The simple reason at the back of this is that the son is supposed to continue the tradition of the family and the dead ancestors. He further points out that the cause of the cessation of the family tradition does not³³ lie in the case of Dvamuṣyāyaṇa. In this respect, the comments of Raghumaṇi deserve to be quoted. Incidentally, however, it must also be remembered that the same principle is also used by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa in the Śrāddha Kāṇḍa of the Smṛticandrikā³⁴ and the same Mimāṃsā passage is also explained elsewhere.³⁵

XI. In the matter of introducing the acute discussions of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā technical points, our author Raghumaṇi does not impress the readers like Nilakaṇṭha, even though there is a chance to open such discussions. In this respect, the attention of the careful students can be invited to the text³⁶ of Śaunaka quoted by our author in the body of the text of the D. C. Here it is significant to note that the reading³⁷ adopted by our author Raghumaṇi is slightly different from the reading³⁸ adopted by Nilakaṇṭha in his Vyavahāra Mayūkha. One can very well point out here that on this text of Śaunaka, Nilakaṇṭha has introduced a highly technical discussion³⁹ of the giving of the staff to the priest Maitrāvaruṇa and also the knowledge of the Mimāṃsā technical terms—Arthakarma and Pratipatti karma—is absolutely necessary for the proper understanding of the discussion. The very fact that our author Raghumaṇi does not introduce any hot discussion on this important place of the Dharma-Śāstra also indicates that he is not deeply rooted and bred in the atmosphere redolent with the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā system.

XII. Casually, however, it may also be noted that our author Raghumaṇi cannot stand in comparison with Nandapaṇḍita in the matter of citing the opinions of the predecessors like Medhātithi, Vijnāneśvara, Śabara, Kumārila and others and also in refuting the

33. एतस्य च व्यामुष्यायनेतरविषये सावकाशत्वार । *Ibid.*, p. 22.

34. Also see : स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. श्राद्धकाण्ड p. 422.

35. 'मिनीय-न्यायमाला विस्तर. p. 25.

36. दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्रेषु क्रियते सुतः । Quoted in दत्तकचं. p. 14.

37. शूद्रेषु क्रियते सुतः । *Ibid.*, p. 14.

38. शूद्रस्यापि च दीयते । Quoted in व्यवहारमयूरव p. 110.

39. दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्चेति यथा भूतभाव्युपयोगित्वेन दण्डस्य मैत्रावरुणाय दण्डं प्रयच्छति । *Ibid.*, p. 111.

peculiar views of them whenever the occasion so demands.⁴⁰ A curious reader will have to read the interesting discussions⁴⁰ from the D. M. only to judge the originality of Nandapaṇḍita in dealing with the places of the Dharma-Śāstra left untouched particularly by the predecessors in the field.

To conclude, one will have to admit that our author Raghumaṇi has touched upon though in a small measure, those places of the Dharma-Śāstra, that are left untouched by the predecessors. At times, however, even though there is an occasion to introduce the hot discussion on the Mīmāṃsā technical points, our author Raghumaṇi does not enter into the acute discussions of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā. Though he finds fault with the arguments of the predecessors like Medhātithi, his arguments are not always based on the Mīmāṃsā technical points. One will have to admit that the writing of Raghumaṇi is also influenced by the opinions and language of Nandapaṇḍita, who appears to be more careful in the treatment of the topics. At times, however, in the employment of the Mīmāṃsā technical term Vākyabheda, he ranks in the list of Nilakaṇṭha and Śaṅkarācārya. This is the important Mīmāṃsā technical term in the employment of which even Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka have committed serious blunders. Some of the peculiar Mīmāṃsā nyāyas—like hetuvat nigadādhikaraṇa and paramatam apratiśiddham anumatam bhavati, of our author Raghumaṇi are also used by Śaṅkarācārya and Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa in the course of their discussion. At times, however, one will have to admit the intelligence of our author when he uses the principle of Pratiprasava for showing the utility of the texts of the Purāṇas. Like other writers on Dharma-Śāstra, he also refers to the view point of Śabara only indirectly and in this treatment of the topics he stands in comparison with Kullūka, the commentator of the Manu-Smṛti. The novelty in the treatment of the topics and discussions of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā on the part of our author Raghumaṇi can be noticed particularly when he touches upon those places of the Dharma-Śāstra which are left untouched by the giants like Vijñāneśvara and Nilakaṇṭha and also in quoting the texts of the Dharma-Śāstra not quoted by the predecessors on the particular points. In the matter of introducing the Mīmāṃsā technical points and refuting the opinions of the predecessors, he does not impress the readers like the author of the Dattaka-Mīmāṃsā. In fine, taking into consideration the above aspects of the merits and demerits of our author Raghumaṇi, one is tempted to advance the view that any serious student of the Dharma-Śāstra and Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā can not ignore Raghumaṇi and his appreciable position.

40. Also see दत्तकमीमांसा pp., 13, 30, 101-03 ; 214 etc.

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SOME CONTAMINATED WORDS IN THE AŚOKAN EPIGRAPHS

S. N. GHOSAL

There are some vocables in the Aśokan edicts, which appear to be the products of contamination. Though the probability of the occurrence of the phenomenon remains in all the kinds of words the preponderance of the same has been noted in the multifarious forms of the personal pronoun for the first person. These are being taken here for consideration leaving others and an attempt is being made to trace elements, which are assumed to stand at the back-ground of these contaminated terms.

One finds the word *mamayā* in the list of the vocables of this nature (vide RE V, VI, P. E VII). It occurs invariably in the inst. sg. This word is evidently a contamination of *mama+mayā*. The form *mamae* of Hemacandra,¹ which is also a form of the inst., originates by absorbing elements from these two words. In the seventh pillar edict we find another word, viz. *mamiyā*, which appears very consanguinous to it.² In our estimate the word *mamiyā* comes from the same very element *mama+mayā*. Here the final syllable, which contains the palatal elements *ya*, has perhaps caused the transformation of the immediately preceding guttural vowel *a* to *i*. This may be called a kind of assimilation.

In the dative sg. the pronoun for the first person shows a variety of forms, among which there occur *mamāye*³ (Second Kalinga edict Dhauli version), *mamiyāye*⁴ (*ibid*, Jaugaḍa) and *hamiyāye*⁵ (Bhabru stone inscription). Now it may be stated that these forms have not been identically interpreted by the scholars. The first two have been considered as inst. by some, but dat. by others⁴. But the last one has been almost invariably considered as inst. by the scholars. It may be stated here that even if the form be considered dative the interpretation stands quite conformable to reason.⁶ Besides the ending *ye*, which is to be found in all of them, speaks for the emergence of the forms originally as dative, since the ending *—ye* proceeds from the Skt. ending *—yai*, noted in the dative case of the feminine *ā*-bases (cf. *laṭṭāyai*, *aśvāyai* etc.)

Now let us see how these forms develop by a process of contamination of elements obtained from diverse words. The word *mamiyāye*

originates from the word *mamiyā*, which by the annexation of the suffix *-ye* appears as such and it has already been shown that *mamiyā* is a product of contamination of *mama*+*mayā*. The word *mamāye* too proceeds in the identical manner. The word *mamā* comes into existence by adopting elements both from the gen. sg. *mama* and the acc. sg. enclitic *mā* (i. e., *mama*+*mā*). As usual the suffix *-ye* has been annexed to this newly developed stem (i. e., *mamā*) which has ultimately produced the form. The word *hamiyāye*, which is a form of the inst., puts us to a great difficulty. It appears extremely obscure and it is very hard to ascertain the constituent words, which have contributed elements to its formation. According to our estimate it proceeds from the terms *harṁ*+*mamiyāye* i. e., Skt. *aḥarṁ*+*mama*+*mayā*+suffix *-ye*. Here the phonological process haplology causes the loss of the syllable *ma* of *mamiyāye* and the nasal of the first element too disappears leaving the form to the shape, in which it appears before us. The course of development stands like this : *harṁ*+*mamiyāye* > *harṁmiyāye* > *hamiyāye*.

Now it may be argued as to how could *mamiyāye*, which is a form of the inst. or dat., absorb element from the nom. form *harṁ* (skt. *aḥam*), since the difference of cases, particularly the occurrence of the latter in the nom. case, is likely to stand on the way of the integration of the elements, which could lead to the origin of the formation. But there is little scope for this kind of argument, since urge for the preservation of the identity of the word as a form of the first person, might have generated the move for the integration of the inst. or dat. form with a form of the nom., which evidently becomes annexed to the initial syllable of the former. This assumption may be tentatively accepted until a better explanation comes forward to remove the difficulties involved with the interpretation.

In the Fourth Pillar edict (in D.T. and D.M. versions) we find the word *mamā*, which stands as a form of the gen sg. We have already shown that it is the result of contamination of the words *mama* and *mā*, the latter being an enclitic in the acc. Some may not accept this explanation of the word by presuming that lengthening in the final syllable of the gen. form *mama* (of Skt.) causes the development of the form ; but the advocates of this view would not find any ostensible reason for the occurrence of lengthening in the final syllable, which the form exhibits. But the assumption of contamination as the probable source for the origin of the form does not involve any kind of difficulty of this nature. In the Jaugada version of the Second Kalinga edict we find the word *mamam*, which occurs in the gen. sg. Here too we find the occurrence of contamination, which is evidently of the words *mama* and *mām*. It may be noted that the same word

(*mamañ*) stands as a form of the acc. sg. in the grammar of Hemacandra⁷, who has unequivocally spoken for its use as a form of the acc. The word of Hemacandra speaks of the identical origin and maintains only this difference that while in the Aśokan edict the sense of the first constituent word stands in tact, in Hemacandra contrarily the significance of the second member remains preponderant.

In the Second Kalinga edict both the Dhauli and Jaugada versions preserve the expression *maye*, which stands as a form of the nom. pl. Jules Bloch intends to derive it from the Pāli nom. pl. form *mayāñ* and the Aśokan nom. pl. *apbe*,⁸ This explanation was noted by Hutzsch also. As Pāli *mayāñ* proceeds from skt. *vayam* and *aphe* stands for Vedic *asme* the ultimate source stands as the contamination of *vayam* and *asme*. But we suggest a different source for the word, which is the product of contamination of the inst. sg. *mayā* and nom. *aphe* i.e., Pkt., *amhe* (Skt *asme*), the latter contributing only the element —e. The assumption of the inst. sg. *mayā* as being a constituent here finds support from the fact that in Prākṛit the passive construction predominates, which calls for the frequent use of the inst. form as the representative of the subject in the sentence. The might be other reasons also for the assumption of *mayā* as a constituent towards the formation of the nom. pl. *maye*, for which Jules Bloch and others have suggested a different explanation, as shown above. We however advance our own explanation and present it for the consideration of the scholars.

In the Bhabru edict we find a word *hamā*^{9a}, which is a form of the gen. from the pronominal base of the first person. The text of the edict does not give any indication by which one can know definitely the number of the form, Basak suggests both *mama* and alternatively *asmākam* as its Skt. correspondent. Jules Bloch considers it as a form of the sg. According to him the word is the result of contamination of two forms, namely *hañ*+*mama*.⁹ This explanation, which Bloch suggests, does not speak any thing about the lengthening that occurs in the final syllable of the form. According to our estimate the words *hañ* (Skt. *aham*)+*mā* (acc.) have greater claim for providing elements to the formation of the word (*hamā*). But in such an explanation we do not find any reason for the emergence of the genitive sense in the word, as none of its constituent forms retains the sense of the genitive. So this explanation lacks strength and does not stand upon a sound basis.

It seems to us that the word *hamā* is not the result of contamination. It, in fact, proceeds from the pronominal base *asmā* (or *asma* with final lengthening) that stands at the root of the Skt. pronominal forms *asmāñ*, *asmābhiñ*, *asmākam*, *asmāsu* etc. The word *asmā* by

anaptyxis develops into *asamā* and then with the loss of the initial vowel by aphaesis and the concomitant change of *s* to *h* the same becomes reduced to *hamā* in the form. Although the change of *s* to *h* is not a common phenomenon in the Aśokan Prākṛit it is not absolutely rare and unexpected there (please not a the form *dāharnti* from *dāsyanti* in P.E. IV and *ehatha* from *eṣyatha* in the Second Kalinga edict Dhauli). So the same change can be admissible in the evolution of the form *hamā* too. Although *asmā*, the presumed source of *hamā*, has left no clear trace in the late Prākṛit speeches (Māh. Śaur) its cognate *asma* has been fairly represented in the latter. It becomes a common form, which is *amha* and is noted in many cases of the first person, e.g. nom. pl., acc. sg., inst. pl., abl. pl. (as base *amha* before the suffix *-tto* i.e., as *amhatto*), gen. sg., gen. pl. and loc. sg. (as base before the ending *-mmi* i.e., as *amhami*).¹⁰ So the word *hamā* can quite legitimately develop from *asmā*, that we have surmised and not be a product of contamination.

We have stated before that although contamination is a common phenomenon in the language of the Aśokan edicts the preponderance of the same is to be noted in the multifarious forms of the pronoun of the first person. By an analysis of facts we find that mostly the forms of the inst. dat. and gen. are subject to the influence of this kind of phonetic process. We have analysed these forms and pointed out the elements, which stand at the back-ground of the same. These are presented to the scholars and may be accepted until better explanation comes forth from any quarter.

REFERENCES

1. Hemacandra, Prākṛit Grammar, III, 109.
2. Please note the line : *Yāni ca kūni ci mamiyā sādhaṇāni kaṭāni*. Aśoka, ed. R. G. Basak, p. 109.
3. It occurs in the line : *devānaṃ piye anuvigina mamāye huvevūti asvasevu ca sukhaṃmeva lahevu mame te no dukhaṃ*. *ibid.* p. 123.
4. It occurs as : *anuvigina heyu mamiyāye*. *ibid.* p. 123. R. G. Basak has interpreted the form as one of the dat. sg. and mentioned *mahyam* as the corresponding Skt. form. But D. C. Sircar has taken it as corresponding to Skt. *mayā*. Select Inscriptions. p. 48. ed. 1942.
5. The form occurs in the line : *e cu kho bhaṃte hamiyāye diseyā hebaṃ sadhaṃme cilathithike hosatīti alahāmi hakaṃ taṃ vatave*. Here both Basak and Sircar have taken the form as inst. and corresponding to Skt. *asmābhiḥ*.
6. If we take the form *hamiyāye* as one of the dative we should interpret the line as : "Oh Reverend Sirs ! as it has been indicated to us that the saddharma will be ever-lasting I am competent to say that." So the interpretation does not lose its force even if the form *hamiyāye* be presumed as one of the dative.

7. Although Hemacandra has admitted its use as a form of the instrumental sg. we consider that this becomes possible only by the extension of its application from the acc. case to the instrumental. So we consider the form as actually belonging to the accusative ; although Hemacandra considered it as originally acc. he permitted its use as inst. owing to the relaxation of the rigidity of use of the case-forms in Pkt. This points to a period, when the use of cases was in a condition of disintegration and decay.

8. Jules Bloch, Les Inscriptions d' Asoka. p. 71.

8a. The word *hamā* occurs in the line : *vidite ve bhaṃte āvatake hamā budhasi dhaṃmasi saṃghasati gālave caṃ paṣāde ca.*

9. Les Inscriptions d' Asoka, p. 70. Please note : meme explication pour le genitif de Bhabra *hamā*, combine de *haṃ* et de *mama*. (Trans : The same explanation for the gen. of Bhabra *hamā*, combined by *haṃ* and by *mama*.)

10. Vide Hemacandra Prākṛit grammar : III. 106, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113 114, 116 ect.

A SHORT NOTE ON THE PRINTED CATALOGUES OF THE BENGALI MANUSCRIPTS PRESERVED IN THE LIBRARY OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

JATINDRA MOHAN BHATTACHARJEE

So far as I know, the first printed Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts was published by Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1901¹. This published Catalogue, Fasciculus III, covering pages 283—288 is mentioned as “এসিয়াটিক সোসাইটির ওরিয়েন্টাল লাইব্রেরী হিত হস্তলিখিত ও মুদ্রিত বাংলা পুস্তকের সূচী পত্র”—“a Catalogue of Bengali printed books and manuscripts preserved in Oriental Library of the Asiatic Society.” This list is divided into the following five columns—“১ নম্বর (Number), ২ গ্রন্থনাম (Name of the Book), ৩ গ্রন্থকার নাম (Name of the author), ৪ বিষয় (Subject), ৫ Printed or Mss.” This list is printed in Bengali Script. In the Fasciculus III we find a list of 37 Bengali manuscripts. After 3 years, in 1904², Fasciculus IV was published in the above manner *i. e.* in five columns. Here we find a list of 10 Bengali manuscripts (pp. 280—320). A catalogue of 47 manuscripts in all was published in these two Fasciculus (III & IV). In 1941³ a volume containing a descriptive catalogue of 445 vernacular manuscripts of which 367 are Bengali manuscripts was published. In 1951⁴ a supplementary volume was published, which contains a catalogue of 96 Bengali manuscripts and 12 Assamese manuscripts. In both these volumes, we find an alphabetical Index of Titles and Authors appended. So uptill now a catalogue of 510 Bengali manuscripts in all (37+10+367+96=510) has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

In connection with the preparation of a Catalogus Catalogorum of Bengali manuscripts, I have had to go through all the printed Catalogues of Bengali manuscripts thoroughly. In doing so, I have come across a few discrepancies. In this short note, I wish to draw the attention of the scholars to the discrepancies noticed in the two volumes of the Catalogues of Bengali manuscripts published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Henceforth, I shall use the abbreviation Cat. I for the 1941 Catalogue and Cat. II for the 1951 Catalogue respectively.

In certain cases, we find the same Bengali manuscript catalogued in both Cat. I and Cat. II viz. :—

Cap. I	No. of Ms.	Serial No.	Page No.	Name of the book	Cat. II	No. of Ms.	Serial No.	Page No.	Name of the book
(1)	3745	57	49	দাতাকর্ণ	G 3745	5	6		দাতাকর্ণ পালি
(2)	4250	89	83	শকুন্তলা	G 4250	15	11		মহাভারত শকুন্তলা উপাখ্যান
(3)	4876	295	288	An Antho- logy of some Va- isnava poets	G 4876	45	33		পদাবলী
(4)	4939	29	24	মহাভারত সাবিত্রী চরিত্র	G 4939	17	12		মহাভারত সাবিত্রী উপাখ্যান
(5)	4995	349	352	ফলিত জ্যোতিষ	G 4995	92	94		জ্যোতিষ
(6)	5003	31	26	মহাভারত বিরাট পর্ব	G 5003	10	9		মহাভারত বিরাট পর্ব
(7)	5396	355	368	জর চিকিৎসা	G 5396/A	91	93		বিষ ঝাড়ার মন্ত্র
					G 5396/B	90	93		জর ঝাড়ার মন্ত্র
(8)	5410	137	125	সন্ন্যাস ঋণ্ড	G 5410	37	27		চৈতন্যমঙ্গল সন্ন্যাস ঋণ্ড

In Cat. II the number of Bengali manuscripts catalogued is 96, but as 8 of the manuscripts are already catalogued in Cat. I, the number comes down to 88 only. All these 8 manuscripts are of Government collection. In Cat II the letter 'G' (indicating Govern-

ment collection) is prefixed, which is not mentioned in Cat. I, although it contains a number of Bengali manuscripts of Government collection.

Below I give a few other discrepancies, perhaps printing mistakes, which I have noticed.

Cat. I	Page	Line	Mss No.	Serial No. wrongly printed as	Suggested correct No.
	34	12	5437	38	39/A.
	35	5	4258	39	39/B.
	96	10	5353	106	103.

In certain cases the same manuscript number is catalogued twice or thrice. In some particular manuscript there might be two or three different manuscripts (*i.e.*, parts). In such cases the different manuscripts (parts) may be indicated by suffixing A.B.C. to the original numbers of the manuscripts *e.g.*, :—

Cat. I	Ms. No.	Serial No.	Page	Name of the Ms.	Proposed No.
(1)	3615	55	47	মহাভারত দাতাকর্ণ	3615/A.
	3615	56	48	মহাভারত দাতাকর্ণ ও মদনমোহন বন্দনা	3615/B.
	3615	58	49	শ্রীশ্রীমদনমোহন বন্দনা	3615/C.
(2)	3616	119	111	প্রেমভক্তি চন্দ্রিকা	3616/A.
	3616	168	156	গোকুল বিলাস	3616/B.
(3)	3968	148	134	রাধারস কারিক	3968/A.
	3968/B	149	135	রাগমই কোণা	No change.
(4)	4048	39	3L	মহাভারত বিজয়পাণ্ডব কথা ও আদিপর্ব	4048/A.
	4048	39	33	Another Mss of বিজয়পাণ্ডব কথা	4048/B.
(5)	4958	179	167	আশ্রয় কল্পলতিকা	4958/A.
	4958	236	223	নারদ সংবাদ	4958/B.

In certain cases the same manuscript number is wrongly catalogued twice under two different serial numbers. In such cases the second entry must be dropped, *e.g.*, :—

Cat. I	Ms. No.	Serial No.	Page	Name of the Ms.
(1)	3625	23	21	মহাভারত শান্তিপর্ব (Folia 88)
	3625	28	23	শান্তিপর্ব (Folia 88)
(2)	3968/B	149	135	রাগমই কোণা (Folia 9)
	3968/B	271	266	রাগময়ী কোণা (Folia 9)

In each of the above two cases the second entry viz., serial No. 28, 270 which is superfluous should be dropped entirely.

In certain cases the same manuscript has been wrongly catalogued twice under two different manuscript numbers with different serial numbers. The second entry (Ms. number, serial no. *etc. etc.*) must be deleted entirely, e.g., :—

Cat. I	Ms. No.	Serial No.	Page	Name of the Ms.
(1)	4021	34	28	ভগবদ্গীতা-রতিরাম (Folia-74)
	8021	308	304	ভগবদ্গীতা-রতিরাম (Folia-74)
(L)	5440	263	253	শ্রীকৃষ্ণজ্ঞান সংবাদ (Folia-16)
	5940	307	303	শ্রীকৃষ্ণজ্ঞান সংবাদ (Folia-16)

There are a few discrepancies in dates as mentioned in the catalogue, e.g., :—

Cat. I	Ms. No.	Serial No.	Page	Name of the Ms.
(1)	3732	65	58	একাদশী মাহাত্ম্য

“Date, Śaka era 1007 (C. 1085 A.D.)”. In this manuscript the Śaka era was mentioned inadvertently instead of the ‘Bangabda’ era or the ‘Mallabda’ era. Śaka era 1007 corresponds to 1085 A.D. i.e., the book was copied 889 years ago, which is absurd. Availability of Bengali manuscript written on country-made paper of such an early period is unthinkable. Moreover, the language of the manuscript quoted in the catalogue indicates that the manuscript was of a recent period. In my opinion the date of the manuscript might be মল্লাব্দ (Mallabda) and not শকাব্দ (Sakabda). In that case 1007 mallabda corresponds to 1108 বঙ্গাব্দ i.e., 1701 A.D. and not 1085 A.D. which was indicated in the printed catalogue.

(2)	4952	274	268	সিদ্ধান্ত চন্দ্রোদয়
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In this catalogue the date of copying of the manuscript is mentioned as “1249 B.S.” and “1249 B.S.” (i.e., C 1842 and C 1862). But the dates quoted therein from the original are otherwise, viz., “1242 B.S.” and “1269 B.S.” respectively. I examined the original manuscript and found that the dates—“1242 B.S.” and “1269 B.S.” are correct.

In certain cases, in this catalogue (Cat. I) the term ‘complete’ is used wrongly, e.g. —

No. of Ms.	Serial No.	Page	Name of the Ms.
(1) 4862	260	250	অজুন সংবাদ

- 'Folia, 9 of which the 3rd is missing....complete.'
- | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|-----|-----------------------------|
| (2) | 0944 | 145 | 131 | চৈতন্যমঙ্গল (সন্ন্যাস ঋণ্ড) |
|-----|------|-----|-----|-----------------------------|
- 'Folia, 1 to 29 of which 2nd, 3rd and 5th are missing.....complete'.
- | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|-----|---------------|
| (3) | 5369 | 283 | 279 | বৈষ্ণব বন্দনা |
|-----|------|-----|-----|---------------|
- 'Folia, 11 of which the 6th to 8th are missing....complete'.
- | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|-----|---------------|
| (4) | 5400 | 246 | 230 | জয়দেব চরিত্র |
|-----|------|-----|-----|---------------|
- 'Folia, 24 of which the 23rd is missing.....complete'.

These four manuscripts ought to have been mentioned as incomplete.

So far the dates of copying are concerned, there are a few kinds of discrepancies, *e.g.*, :-

(i) Dates mentioned in the short notes written in English vary with the original dates quoted later.

No. of Ms.	Serial No.	Page	Name of the Ms.
(1) 4040/A	61	53	ক্রিয়াযোগসার

'Date B.S. 1205 (C. 1798 A.D.)' but in the original it is quoted as '১২০৩ সন।' —১২০৩ wrongly quoted; in the manuscript it is ১২০৫।

(2) 4912	278	273	উদ্ভব সন্বাদ
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'Date B.S. 1081 (C 1674 A.D.), but in the original it is quoted as '১০৮৪ বাং ৬ বৈশাখ।' ১০৮৪ wrongly quoted in the manuscript it is ১০৮১।

(3) 5005	300	293	ভাবার্থ দীপিকা
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'B.S. 1050 (C. 1643 A.D.)'—but in the original it is quoted as '১০৫৫, ৯ বৈশাখ।' I have examined the manuscript, the correct date is '১০৫০, ৯ই বৈশাখ'।

(4) 5440	263	253	শ্রীকৃষ্ণাঙ্কুর সংবাদ
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'B.S. 1240 (C. 1833 A.D.)'—but in the original it is quoted as '১২৪৭ সাল তারিখ ২৭ বৈশাখ' (C. 1840 A.D.). I have examined the manuscript. The correct date is '১২৪৭ সাল তারিখ ২৭ বৈশাখ'।

(ii) In certain cases in the English short notes, there are no mention of dates of copying, but afterwards have been quoted from the original, *e.g.*, :-

(1) 3532	326	324	মনসামঙ্গল
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No. date in the short note ; but in the original সন ১২৬৩
(c. 1856 A.D.)

(2) 3615/B 56 48 মহাভারত দাতাকর্ণ ও মদনমোহন
বন্দনা

No date in the short note ; but in the original ১২২৪ বাং
১৫ বৈশাখ ।

(3) 3615/C 58 49 শ্রীশ্রীমদনমোহন বন্দনা

No date in the short note, but in the original ১২২৩ বাং
(c 1816 A.D.)

(4) 3715 48 41 দণ্ডীরাজার উপাখ্যান

No date in the short note, but in the original ১২০৭ বাং
(c 1800 A.D.)

(5) 3745 57 49 দাতাকর্ণ

No date in the short note, but in the original ১০৮৪ সন
(C 1677 A.D.)

(6) 4048 39 32 মহাভারত বিজয়পাণ্ডব কথা ও আদি-
পর্ব

No date in the short note, but in the original ১২২৬ সন' ।

(3) A / Descriptive catalogue / of the / Vernacular Manuscripts / in
the collections / of / The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal / By /
Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Shāstri / C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt.,
F.A.S.B. / Revised and Edited by / Jogendra Nath Gupta / Volume IX /
Bengali Manuscripts / Printed at the Inland-Printing Works / Published
by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal / Calcutta / 1941 / Price Rs. 10 /
pp.XI+433 ; size 25½×16½ c.m.

(4) A / Descriptive catalogue / of the / vernacular manuscripts /
in the collections / of The Asiatic Society / By / Praphulla Chandra
Pal, M.A. / Calcutta University / Vol. IX / (Bengali and Assamese) /
(Supplementary) / Printed at the Modern Art Press / Published by the
Asiatic Society / Calcutta / 1952 / pp. X+816 ; size 24×16 c.m.

(In the cover page the date is mentioned as 1952 but in the inner
title page the date is given as 1951.)

BENGAL AND HER OVERLAND ROUTES IN INDIA AND BEYOND

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

(a) Link-road to Āryāvarta Dakṣiṇāpatha, and Sindhala

Ancient literature sometimes enlightens us about remote lands recording therein the movement of men and goods by land and sea. The journey of caravans across wild tracts, deserts and riverine areas, of merchants on the high seas meeting hurricanes and ship-wrecks, sometimes with hair-breadth escapes, leaves a blazing trail of heroic saga which create a thrill in our mind regarding these pioneer explorers of the unknown. The details of this adventure for religion, trade or other purposes in Indian and foreign literature give us the earliest glimpse into the nature and alignment of this net-work of trade-routes charted out in many cases by these unknown explorers. The needs of business and cultural contact have opened out avenues of meeting at the cross-roads of civilisation, and Bengal was no exception to the rule. She had a net-work of routes to connect her with other parts of India and through them the outside world, both by land and sea.

The comparative merits and disadvantages of the water and land routes have been brought under review in the *Arthāśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Assuming that the original text of this work was composed during the reign of Candragupta Maurya, the passage in question¹ would give us some idea about the attitude of some *śāstra*-makers towards this issue at the end of the 4th century B. C. The text reads as follows :

“My teacher says that of the two trade-routes, one by water and another by land, the former is better, in as much as it is less expensive but productive of large profit.

Not so, says Kauṭilya, for, a water route is liable to obstruction, not permanent, a source of imminent dangers, and incapable of defence, whereas a land-route is of reverse nature.

Of water routes, one along the shore and another in mid-ocean, the route along and close to the shore is better, as it touches at many trading port towns ; likewise river navigation is better, as it touches at many trading port towns ; likewise river navigation is better, as it is uninterrupted and is of avoidable or endurable dangers.

My teacher says that, of the land-routes that which leads to the Himalayas is better than that which leads to the South, Not so, says Kauṭilya, for with the exception of blankets, skins and horses, other

articles of merchandise, such as conch-shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls and gold are available in plenty in the South.

Of routes leading to the South, either that trade-route which traverses a large number of mines, which is frequented by people, and which is less expensive or troublesome, or that route by taking which plenty of merchandise of various kinds can be obtained is better.

This explains the selection of trade-routes leading either to the East or to the West."

These are admirable precepts given by a practical man of the world and modern critics would hardly find anything unjustified in the arguments stated above. Not only that ; the author has also defined² various types of roads giving them specific names, such as chariot roads, royal roads and roads leading to *droṇamukha*, *sthāniya* country parts and pasture grounds, each of which is four *daṇḍas* (24 feet) in width. It may also be noted in this connexion that, like Kauṭilya, Arrian³ has also referred to "royal roads", by which designation one has probably to understand broad important roads fit for travel by the royalty, troops and common people alike.

The period of closer contact between Bengal and the western countries beyond India was facilitated firstly by the Achaemenid expansion of territory towards the East and then by Alexander's conquests in Asia. But, inside India itself, the process was already set in motion in the flourishing days of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* (states) in the sixth century B. C. The benevolent rulers of many of these states had, according to the best tradition of Indian kingship, laid out a number of major routes within their authority and these were further developed in later times. Buddhist tradition leaves the impression that even during the rule of the Haryanka dynasty, to which Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, both Buddha's contemporaries (the latter a junior one) in eastern India, belonged, there were link-roads going to Taxila, and Jivaka, the famous physician of Buddha's time living at the capital of the Magadhan empire, went by the overland route to that place to receive his medical education. The story of his journey to Taxila and return therefrom by various means of conveyance indicates the extent of these link-route in pre-Buddhist India⁴. A route from Śrāvastī to the "borders", is also mentioned in the *Jātakas*⁵.

Now, the constitution of such a Grand Trunk Route was facilitated by the fact that, excepting Assaka, Gandhāra, Avanti and Kāmbhoja, all the twelve other *mahājanapadas* abutted on the Ganges and the Jumna, of which the former constituted the sacred river *par excellence*. The major routes of these twelve great states seem to have run, at appropriate sectors, parallel to the course of the Ganges, as alignments

of these routes in early Buddhist and other pre-Mauryan works would indicate. The itinerary of Buddha and his disciples confirms this impression. With the growth of Magadhan imperialism during the rule of the Haryāṅka, Śāiśunāga and Nanda dynasties, the routes of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* gradually became integrated with the roads system of Rājagṛha and, later on, of Pāṭaliputra, the nerve-centre of the Magadhan empire. The main route along the course of the Ganges-Jumna thus constituted a sort of Grand Trunk Road, with Tāmralipti at one end and Taxila on the other. It is not therefore very likely that the rulers of Pāṭaliputra in the early Maurya period constructed this royal road in imitation of the Achaemenid rulers, as sometimes believed, but that it existed from earlier times was also perhaps known to ancient writers. Megasthenes himself could not say how early it was set up. It is perhaps this royal road which has been referred to by Pāṇini as "Uttarāpatha"⁶ and later on by the Greeks as the "Northern Route."

We can follow the alignments of this road according to the directions given in Ptolemy's work⁷. It would appear therefrom that this royal road passed from the capital city of Pāṭaliputra, called Palimbothra by the Greek writers, to Kāśī (Vārāṇasī), thence to Kauśāmbī and Prayāga (Allahabad), Calinapaxa (Kanauj), Hastināpura; it then passed by Iomanens (Yamunā), crossed the Hesidros (Sutlej), the Hyphasis (Beas), the Hydaspes (Jhelum), passed Taxila, crossed the Indus and cut across the Kabul Valley. The terminus of this route was formed by Peucelaotis (Puṣkalāvati, now Charsada). From Puṣkalāvati, it probably branched off to Kāśmīr in the North-East and to Bactria in the North-West. It may be recalled that it was through the Puṣkalāvati-Rājagṛha route that Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma travelled from Indraprastha to Rājagṛha⁸. Although the details furnished above are taken from Ptolemy, there is hardly any doubt that the main alignments of this route were in existence in pre-Mauryan days.

This major route of India, split on two parallel lines on either banks of the river Ganges, met at ferry-points and then ran their separate course once again. The route was also matched by parallel navigational facilities on the Ganges up to Sahajāti⁹, the furthest navigable point up the Ganges. At the other end of this great route lay Tāmralipti, an international sea-port on the Bay of Bengal, whose story has been told by me elsewhere¹⁰.

The roads of Bengal were not perhaps as developed in the early Buddhist period as other places of central and western India. Or it may be that the itinerary of Buddha and his disciples in Central India has given prominence to the roads of this region. In any case, the Jain *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*,¹⁰ dating from c. 300 B.C. describes the land

of Rāḍhas (Rāḍhā) as a "path-less country" inhabited by rude people. The remark seems to be valid for the 6th century B.C., when Mahāvira flourished, but it does not necessarily mean that all parts of Bengal were equally devoid of good roads. It may be recalled that in the *Mahāvamsa*,¹¹ a Ceylonese Chronicle, the princess of Vaṅga has been described as joining a caravan party which was proceeding from Vaṅga to Magadha through Lāḷa (Rāḍha or Rāḍhā) i.e., West Bengal). Unless there was at least one good road, the caravan could not have proceeded from East Bengal to Magadha through West Bengal. The event refers to the 6th century B.C. As trade-routes normally follow traditional alignments, the caravan route in the sector between West Bengal and Magadha might have followed the same route as was used by king Aśoka some two centuries later, but the contour of Aśoka's route is far from being clear. There is, however, little doubt that, in the roads system of eastern India, Kajaṅgala (mod. Kāḅjol) constituted an important land-mark, as the routes of eastern, western and southern India converged, in straight or devious ways, on this point. In the vicinity of this place, the river Ganges branched off in two, one going under the name of the Padmā to Bāṅglādesh, while the other, under the name of Gaṅgā-Bhāgirathi (Hooghly river), met the sea at Tāmralipti. It is apparent that, following the pattern of the Royal road at the upper reaches of the Ganges, parallel branches of the road ran on either banks of the Ganges up to the sea.

Now, at Kajaṅgala, the Tāmralipti-Puṇḍravardhana route met the regional roads of India, and early literature refers to many of them. It may be recalled that many *Jātaka*-stories compiled in the early Buddhist period refer, as will be discussed more elaborately later on, to traders of the upper Gangetic valley going to Tāmralipti for business or other purposes. It may be recalled in this connexion that, in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,¹² which reverts to the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya written in the Paisācī dialect in the 1st century A.D., there is recorded the story of Vidūṣaka who goes from Ujjayinī to the East and "Puṇḍravardhana lay in his way as he travelled to Tāmralipti which lay not far from the eastern sea". In the return journey, the same Puṇḍravardhana had to be revisited¹³. Another traveller from Vārāṇasī goes to the same city in a few days' time¹⁴.

These and other roads to be described below connected the trade and pilgrim centres of eastern India. Thus we learn from the itinerary of Buddha, his disciples and others about the routes lying between Rājagṛha and Kapilavastu¹⁵, Rājagṛha and Srāvastī¹⁶, Rājagṛha-Mithilā¹⁷, Rājagṛha-Campā¹⁸ and Rājagṛha-Bodh-Gaya-Orissa.¹⁹ The traffic from North Bengal—of men, goods and beasts flowed through Puṇḍravardhana, Mithilā (North Bihar), Campā (Bhagalpur) and Pāṭali-

putra. Here, at Rājagṛha and, later on, at Pāṭaliputra, the subsidiary roads converged, as these cities successively became the imperial capital of India. Rāmacandra's itinerary in the *Rāmāyaṇa* indicates that there was a road between Mithilā and Vaiśālī²⁰ with both of which the port of Tāmralipti was connected by the land-route. It seems that the people desirous of going to Vaiśālī or any other place North of the Ganges from South Bihar had to cross this river at its confluence with the Soṇa, where the city of Pāṭaliputra was located. The *Mahābhārata* also describes incidentally some routes of eastern India in connexion with Bhīma's fight with Jarāsandha and again in connexion with the former's conquest of the eastern parts of India. It may be recalled that the Pāṇḍavas led by Kṛṣṇa started from Kurukṣetra and took the route North of the Ganges, crossing the Sarayū somewhere in eastern Uttarapradesh and reached Mithilā. The party then followed the South-westerly route to cross the Ganges, at its confluence with the Soṇa²¹. The party then proceeded further to the East and reached Gorathagiri which is usually believed to be the Barabar hill. The location of places on the route of Bhīma's *digvijaya* in eastern India is however most unsatisfactory from the view-point of studying the route-system in this region, because the redactor of the *Mahābhārata* had in many cases moved far ahead, leaving some territories behind unconquered, thereby indicating that his knowledge about the terrain was poor²².

In this huge net-work of roads covering the major part of India, the sector of the route lying between Pāṭaliputra and Tāmralipti was very important, as it commanded the export and import trade of the Gangetic Valley. It may be recalled that, apart from prince Vijaya, his retinue and relatives, whose story we have discussed in an earlier issue of this journal^{22a}, the Maurya emperor Aśoka also visited the port of Tāmralipti in connexion with the despatch of a sapling of the Bodhi tree to Ceylon. The route has not been defined in the *Mahāvamsa*,²³ But it has been stated that the emperor crossed the Vinjhā (Vindhya mountains) and arrived at Tāmalitte (Tāmralipti) in just one week. The reference to the Vindhya ranges indicates that the term was used in an imprecise way to designate the Rajmahal hills, which constitute, according to modern geologists, a part of the Chotonagpur complex of the Vindhya mountain²⁴. It is just possible that Aśoka followed the course of the Ganges to keep himself in touch with the sapling, but we cannot assume that position beyond Rajmahal, according to present topography, as the river Ganges has considerably changed its course during the last 2000 years or so²⁵. The present Grand Trunk Road, the successor of the royal road of Mauryan times, starts from Calcutta and passes through Burdwan, Asansol,

Varahi and cuts across the Ganges near Mogulsarai. A branch-line shoots off towards Patna from the sector lying between Varahi and Aurangabad. It seems that an old route towards Patna ran not far off from the present Grand Trunk Road : it ran through Ektesvar, Chatna, Raghunathpur, Telkupi, Jharia, Rajauli, Rajgir and Patna²⁶. Grierson²⁷ has, however, suggested that a route between Tāmralipti and Vārāṇasī passed by Ranchi and Palamau. This surmise cannot be checked up now, as physical traces of this route are not so very obvious now.

About 650 years after the time of Aśoka, Fa-hien went to Tāmralipti from Campā, the distance being stated to be about 50 yojanas to the East, but unfortunately he has not left any other details about the route followed by him²⁸. Although the next important Chinese traveller, namely Yuan Chwang, gives us meticulous details regarding his travels in eastern India,²⁹ the details are somewhat confusing, because, while it has been stated in the *Travels* that he visited Tāmralipti by way of Puṇḍravardhana, Kāmarūpa and Samataṭa, the itinerary described in his *Life* successively covers Puṇḍravardhana, Kārṇasuvarṇa, Raktamṛttikā, Samataṭa, Tāmralipti, Uḍa (Orissa) and some places of southern India.³⁰ It would appear surprising that Kāmarūpa and Kumārarāja, who occupy such important place in both his *Travels* and *Life*, do not appear in the last lap of his journey as described in the *Life*. In view of these facts, while we may place greater reliance on the *Travels*, in so far as his itinerary is concerned, we may at least be authorised to deduce this much from the itinerary as recorded in the *Travels* and the *Life* that there were routes from (1) Puṇḍravardhana to Kāmarūpa and thence to Tāmralipti via Samataṭa and (2) from Puṇḍravardhana to Kārṇasuvarṇa, Raktamṛttikā, Samataṭa and Tāmralipti. I-tsing arrived at Tāmralipti by sea, almost on the heels of Yuan Chwang, in 673 A.D. Unfortunately, his journey from Tāmralipti to the holy places of Buddhism in Bihar has not been precisely described,³¹ but the route was well-frequented by travellers, as I-tsing himself travelled in the company of twenty priests. It has been stated that ten days' distance from the Mahābodhi Vihāra, the party "passed a great mountain and bogs ; the pass is dangerous and difficult to cross." The pilgrims first arrived at Nālandā, worshipped at the Mūlagandhakuṭi, then ascended the Gṛdhrakūṭa (Vultures' Peak)³² and lastly came to the Mahābodhi Vihāra. The order of the place-names seems to indicate that the party followed the traditional route by way of Kajaṅgala, because the alignment of the route is from North to South. If the shorter route discussed earlier had been followed, the order of the place names would have been just the reverse. I-tsing states³³ that the distance between Tāmralipti and

Nālandā is over sixty yojanas i.e., a little over 402 English miles³⁴. By the river-route, the distance between Pāṭaliputra and Tāmralipti would be 680 English miles approximately³⁵. One has therefore to postulate, not taking into account the change in the course of the river Ganges (which fact was also ignored by Cunningham) but keeping in view the order of the place-names, that I-tsing made a short-cut somewhere in the region of Kajaṅgala. It may be recalled in this connexion that several centuries after I-tsing's time Bakhtiyar Khalji invaded Bihar and Bengal (1196-1203 A.D.). The invader seems to have crossed the confluence of the rivers Ganges and the Soṇa at Maner³⁶. He then proceeded to Bihar Sharif and, after conquering large parts of Bihar, plunged into the wild tracts of Jhārkhaṇḍa, through which probably lay another ancient Tāmralipti-Pāṭaliputra road, then fallen into disuse. In addition to the routes discussed above, there was an international route, also used for internal purposes, which ran through Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal, and connected the Far East with the Far West. We shall discuss the alignment of this route later on.

Bengal's connexion with southern India was also maintained through other link-roads. One such road has been described in the *Suttanipāṭa*, a very old Pāli text, which, with its commentaries like the *Mahānidḍesa* as well as the *Cullaniḍḍesa*, which are also fairly old, furnish details of the southern route from Pratiṣṭhāna (mod. Paithan) to Vaiśālī. Reversing the order of names given in the text,³⁷ we may put the alignment of the route thus : Vaiśālī, Pāvā, Kuśinārā, Kapilavastu, Setavya, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Vanasavhaya, Vidiśā, Gonarda, Ujjayinī, Māhaṣmatī, and Pratiṣṭhāna, thus leading to the western coast of India below the famous harbour of Śūrpāraka (mod. Sopara)³⁸. The town of Vaiśālī, as shown in the list given above, was connected with Tāmralipti both by land and sea. A sector of the above-mentioned route, abounding in forests and lying in the last lap, seems to have been known to Pāṇini under the name of Kāntārapatha³⁹. At Māhiṣmatī (mod. Māndhātā), the route branched off to Bharukaccha (mod. Broach). From Pratiṣṭhāna referred to above, the route proceeded to the mouth of the river Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā and thence, along the Western Ghats, to the far South and Ceylon.

Besides the Tāmralipti-Vaiśālī-Pratiṣṭhāna route to the Far South, there was also a well-frequented route to the South by the eastern coast of Peninsular India. The route lies along the flat land between the Eastern Ghats and the sea, but the traveller has to cross many rivers like the Suvarṇarekhā, Vaitaraṇī, Brāhmāṇī, Mahānadi, Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā and other smaller ones lying in between. At some places, the spurs of the Eastern Ghats almost reach the sea, making the passage rather

difficult. The net-work of rivers, particularly that in the deltas of the Godāvāri and the Kṛṣṇā, had hindered the movement of large armies in the past, but had not eliminated it altogether. In fact, confrontation of the armies of the North and the South has often taken place in this terrain⁴⁰. It may be recalled in this connexion that the Pāla and the Sena rulers of Bengal, Vikramāditya of the Western Cālukya dynasty, king Rājendra Cola and some Eastern Gaṅga-kings have followed this Draviḍa-Andhra-Kaliṅga route in their military movements to the North or in the reverse order, according as the invasion was organised from the North or the South.⁴¹ A more detailed account of the southern route is given in the *Travels* of Yuan Chwang,⁴² whom we saw last at Karnaśuvārṇa in Bengal. The pilgrim proceeded from that place to Uḍa (var. Odra, Udra : Orissa); Kong-u-t'o (Koṅgoda), Kaliṅga, (South) Kośala, Andhra, Dhanakaṭaka,⁴³ Cola, Draviḍa and Malakuṭa. Beyond the last mentioned place lay Ceylon.

(b) Link-roads to the Middle East and Central Asia.

Tarn had earlier classified the routes beyond Taxila into three main groups⁴⁴, but the supposed western route from India to the Oxus and the Caspian Sea, constituting his group no. 1, seems to have rested on a misreading of the texts⁴⁵. Of the two remaining groups, the more important one consisted of a bunch of three roads which were frequented by traders and travellers at least from early Mauryan times. One of these roads passed from India to Ecbatana through the towns of Kandahar and Herat and was the most important one of the three roads under this group. The Greek and Aramaic texts of the Aśokan inscription at Kandahar point to the mixed population of the locality and underline its importance⁴⁶. The second road of this group, which was however of lesser significance, branched off from Kandahar and started in the direction of Persepolis and Susa. A more southerly road in this group ran straight from India to Seleucia, without touching Kandahar, but moved along the sea-coast as far as possible ; it touched the Persian Gulf area, crossed the Tigris near Babylon and reached the Mediterranean coast, in two branches, one terminating at Ephesus in the North and the other at Tyre in the South. The coastal route probably got a start after the naval explorations of Nearchus, but it never developed properly due to climatic conditions, the barren nature of the land through which it passed and a hostile population. The third group of the roads refers to the sea-route, which will be discussed later on in brief outline, as it does not appreciably come within the purview of this work.

It is not known if these link-roads to the mediterranean world

brought the products of Bengal to the markets of Tyre, Ephesus and other places, but they certainly helped, at least on one occasion, to transport Chinese goods through northern India to a remote corner of the world under strange circumstances. It may be recalled that, in the second century B.C. the Chinese emperor Wu-ti (150-87 B.C.) had sent an emissary named Chang Ch'ien, with 100 followers, on a political mission to the Hiung-nu tribes living on the fringe-areas of western China and contiguous places. Chang Ch'ien lived for about 10 years among the Hiung-nu people and, after many adventures, returned home. He then submitted a report to the Chinese emperor, recommending the opening of a caravan-route through Tufan (Tibet), as the central Asian route was yet too dangerous. Conditions however improved considerably in the 1st century A.D., because of the conquest of Yunnan by the Chinese and the growth of some great empires in the West, which facilitated the communications of the Chinese by several routes at once.

The Roman empire was then at the height of its power. The Parthian empire lay between imperial Rome and the Kuṣāṇa empire, while, in the North lay the empire of China. These empires epitomised, more or less, the then civilised world and, in spite of their mutual jealousies and belligerency, they all wanted the promotion of inter-state trade and commerce. This led, towards the end of the 1st. century A.D., to the growth of the famous Silk Road, along which rolled, in peaceful times, the caravans of many nations. When the conditions were disturbed, traders made greater use of the sea route, which was less subject to the vagaries of rulers, but more affected by sea storms and the depredations of pirates. In the middle of the 1st century A.D., Hippalos's discovery or rediscovery of the periodic alternation of the monsoons in the Arabian Sea⁴⁷, also promoted increased volumes of trade without facing the natural calamities of the earlier centuries.

By the middle of the 2nd century A.D., the western traders anxious to import luxury goods and other items from the East were embarking in ever-increasing numbers from the Italian port of Ostia for Antioch. Here originated what came to be known in history as the Silk Road⁴⁸. From Antioch, the caravans moved to Palmyra⁴⁹ which was a prosperous buffer state between the Roman empire and Parthia, but in 273 A.D. this small state was absorbed by Rome. From Palmyra a branch of the main route proceeded towards the head of the Persian Gulf (Spasinu-Chorax), where goods were loaded into ships for transport to Barygaza (Broach) on the western coast of India. The overland route from Palmyra however passed on towards the East through Ecbatana (Hamadan), Shahrud, Merv and Bactra (Balkh), at which last place the route bifurcated, one proceeding towards China and the other

towards India. The route towards China, leaving Bactra behind, pushed on towards the famous Stone Tower. Here the route again bifurcated in a double arc around the Traim Basin. The northern sector of this Silk Road passed by Kashgarh, Aksu, Kusha, Kara Sahr, where it swerved to the South to meet the southern sector of the route, which started from the Stone Tower and passed through Khotan, Niya and met the northern arc of the route at Lop Nor. In the succeeding days of Roman imperialism, this Silk Road was protected by governments through whose territory it passed: it passed through the Pamirs and Turkestan. The route to China was thus stabilised, and it ensured more facilities for the movement of goods into India through the frontier towns. The utility of the route was further increased when the Sassanid rulers assumed power in the 3rd century A. D.

Now, the journey of the caravans from Byzantium to the Stone Tower which was the provincial capital of the Seres⁵⁰ was an arduous one. Ptolemy has stated that the country of the Seres and their metropolis were located to the North of the Sinai⁵¹. The same author has also told us that "in travelling to these parts there was not only the road that led to Bactriana by way of the Stone Tower, but also a road that led into India through Palimbothra"⁵². These and other particulars seem to indicate that the land of the Seres was an unspecified geographical entity in the North of China, whence routes towards India passed through the Stone Tower and Bactriana. In this connexion, one can bring under review certain data of the *Periplus*, which makes a significant reference to the export of some Chinese goods into India, stating that these commodities, the nature of which we shall discuss later on, were brought from Thina "by land to Barygaza through Bactria or by the Ganges to Damirica"⁵³. The route to India through Bactriana was already known in the 2nd century B. C. and is now confirmed for the 1st century A. D. as well, but the statement "Ganges to Damirica" would appear perplexing to many, unless we postulate a North-eastern route from China to the Gangetic Valley through North Burma, Kāmarūpa and Puṇḍravardhana or a route through Bactria and the upper course of the Ganges. It is interesting to observe in this connexion that Ptolemy,⁵⁴ writing in the 2nd century A. D. about these roads⁵⁵ distinguished the Bactriana-route by way of the Stone Tower from the "road that led into India through Palimbothra." This Palimbothra-road could either be the North-Burma-Kāmarūpa-Puṇḍravardhana route or the route by way of the sea. Indeed, if the Huang-Chih of the contemporary Chinese records refers to the Ganges,⁵⁶ the despatch of goods by way of the sea cannot be eliminated altogether.

Schoff has however thought of a northern route from China through

the eastern Himalayan ranges and commented on the relevant text in the *Periplus* thus :⁵⁷ "This was the route across the Tibetan plateau, starting in the same direction as the Turkestan routes, from Singanfu to Lanchowfu, branching here, it led to Siningfu, thence to Koko Nor, and Southwest-ward, by Lhasa and the Chumbi Vale to Sikkim and the Ganges. The route from Lhasa by the lower Brahmaputra valley was little used, owing to the savage tribes inhabiting it. There were numerous other passages into India ; as for instance, a frequented route by the Arun river through Nepal to the Ganges or by following the upper Brahmaputra to the sacred peak of Kailas and the source of the Sulej, or continuing through Gartok to the upper Indus. But natural conditions, as stated in §66 of the *Periplus* itself, made these routes through western Tibet almost impracticable for commerce.

While not denying the possibility of the existence of the Tibetan route, as suggested by Schoff, it may be observed that this route had hardly developed as a caravan-route in the early centuries of the Christian Era. Besides, the texts quoted above open out the possibility of several routes, as described above, and nothing definite can be said about the northern route (Tibetan), until we come to the 7th century A.D. In 639 A.D., this route, which we may give the generic designation Tufan-Nepal route, became useful for the first time, because, in that year was opened the Banepa-Kuti Pass (Banepa is also called Bhatta in Newari), thus making the communication between Tibet and Nepal on one side and between the Himalayan kingdoms and Bengal on the other comparatively less dangerous. In any case, it was much easier than the earlier route which lay along the Tianshan and across the Baluturgh mountains. The new route is said to have been discovered by Hsuan Chao⁵⁸ who left India for home *via* Nepal in the ninth lunar month of 654 A.D. and reached Loyang in Honan province four months later. The distance between China and India through Bengal was not appreciably shortened, because the route referred to by Yuan Chwang⁵⁹ consumed only two months, whereas the former one was infinitely more risky and pestilential. The Tufan-Nepal route however became more popular with the passage of time and Buddhist monks going to China or coming in the opposite direction spent some time in Nepal, as it could boast of the birth-place of Buddha himself.

Towards the middle of the 7th century A. D., the Tibetan king Srong-btsan Sgam-po who introduced Buddhism into the country facilitated the movement of travellers between eastern India and Tibet. A Buddhistic Tibet and the establishment of the Pāla-dynasty in Bengal and Bihar within a century after his death made this remote Himalayan kingdom familiar to travellers ; traders, scholars and artists began to trek there in ever-increasing numbers. Unfortunately a detailed descrip-

tion of this route is not available before the time of Atiśa Dipaṅkara, about whom we shall speak more fully later on.

A brief description of a route between China and India by a Chinese pilgrim called Hiuan-chao, who came to India in 627 A. D., has been preserved. It has been stated therein that the pilgrim left the frontiers of China and crossed a desert, then he passed by the Iron Gates (Darbend), traversed through T'u-ho-lo (Tokharestan), went through the country of the barbarians (Hu) and at least reached Tu-fan *i.e.*, Tibet. From that place, he entered India through the Shipki-pass, not far off from Simla, thus avoiding the usual route through Nepal.⁶⁰ As Hiuan-chao remained too long in India, the emperor sent Wang Hiuan-t'so to India for the fourth time, in 664 A. D., to bring the former back and this he did by following a route through Nepal and Tibet⁶¹. Some details are also available regarding the journey of the Chinese pilgrim Ki-ye who seems to have followed the Tufan-Nepal route to China⁶². He passed through Nepal and a place called Mo-yu-li, which Bagchi believes to be Mayurato in Tibet, and visited the temple of San-yue (Samye in Lhasa). On account of strained political relations between China and Tibet, the Tufan-Nepal route was not followed by Chinese pilgrims during the 8th and 9th centuries. In the 10th century, the route was reopened and saw brisk movement of traffic. In the 11th century A. D., the route from India to Nepal and Tibet was greatly used and we have ampler details regarding the alignments and conditions of these routes through the itinerary of some Indian pandits in the Land of the Snow.

The journey of Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava and Kamalaśīla to Tibet has been described in Tibetan works⁶³, but the geographical details are so uninformative that it is not possible to find out the route by which they travelled. More instructive is, however, the itinerary of Atiśa Dipaṅkara who started for Tibet in 1040 A.D.⁶⁴. As the journey lay through mountainous terrain, it was obviously a route which was followed for some centuries by traders and pilgrims. Atiśa, after paying plenty of offerings to Vajrāsana *i.e.*, Bodh Gaya, started for Nepal through Camparan. On the way he visited the Mītra Vihāra on the frontier between India and Nepal, worshipped at the sacred place of Ārya Svayambhū in Nepal,⁶⁵ passed through the place called Palpoi Than; the party then reached the frontier of Tibet. The first town on the Tibetan side to be mentioned in the itinerary of Atiśa is Mon-yul Gun-thang; then he successively passed through Zo-gna Chen-po, Purang, Dok Mamolin (near the shore of the Ma-pham *i.e.*, Manasarovara) and Tholin. According to Waddell⁶⁶, Atiśa arrived in Tibet by Nari k'or-sum. Since he started from Vikramaśīla monastery which probably lay in Magadha, the party apparently entered Nepal

through its central part, where it paid homage at the Svayambhū temple. Atīśa however did not stay in Nepal for long ; he moved for the West towards Manasarovara. The part of the route lying between Palpa and Manasarovara was negotiated from Palpa, which lies to the West of Kāthmaṇḍu and through Muktinath, Khocarnath and Taklakot. A. Chatterji has given us a detailed account of the entire journey, to which the attention of inquisitive reader is drawn^{66a}. Atīśa's visit to Nepal and Tibet was not only an epoch-making one from the view point of Buddhist religion in Tibet but also in respect of the exploration of the routes to the Himalaya countries from a source of unimpeachable authority.

The next important evidence regarding a journey from eastern India to Tibet is furnished in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, where an account has been given regarding the military misadventure of Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji in the early part of the 13th century. He started for Tibet from either Lakhnauti⁶⁷ or Deokot⁶⁸ under the guidance of one Ali. The army first marched to Vardhankot, a place identified with a site North of Bagura in Long. 89°28', Lat. 25°8'25" in the vicinity of Govindganj on the Karatoyā, probably the same as 'Bagmaṭi of the Muslim historian. The army marched for ten days along the course of the Karatoyā and possibly also the Tista, thus along the western boundary of Kāmarūpa. Before the tenth instant, the army reached a bridge of hewn stone with twenty and odd arches, possibly located near Darjeeling. Then it plunged into the mountain defiles leading to Tibet. The expedition however ended in disaster. The army turned back, but it was virtually destroyed by hostile forces of Nature and men. It has however been stated that between Kāmarūpa and Tibet, there were 35 mountain passes through which horses were brought from the northern hilly tracts to Lakhnauti⁶⁹.

(c) Link-roads to Szechwan and Tongking

In addition to the Tufan-Nepal route through the Lands of the Snow, there was also, from ancient times, a route from China to Bengal through the northern tracts of Burma. Indian settlements in Yunnan and North Burma must have facilitated this movement of men and goods between India and China. According to the traditional history of Burma, the Śākya prince Abhi Raja of Kapilavastu reached Burma through Arakan in 923 B. C. and Dhaja Raja, another Śāka prince from India reached there in 523 (or 519) B.C.⁷⁰ Neither the names nor the dates when these princes lived can be checked up from the Buddhist tradition of India and Ceylon, but the dispersal of the Śākya clan to various places in India and abroad

after the virtual destruction of Kapilavastu shortly before Buddha's death, may yet be true. Other enterprising colonists, of less stature, also moved in to establish Indian settlements at Ta-tsin in the East of the hill ranges bordering on Assam and Manipur. About 150 miles further to the East was established another Indian settlement to the North of Ngansi, a town lying beyond the Chindwin river⁷¹. It seems very likely that the Indianised States of northern Burma owe their origin to the immigrants from northern India who trekked along the Puṇḍravardhana Kāmarūpa-Manipur-North Burma-Yunnan-Szechwan route.

According to the tradition of Yunnan, a son of emperor Aśoka is credited with the foundation of a colony in that region which came to be known as Gandhāra. The story, as recorded in the *History of the southern princes*, a Chinese work of the 16th century,⁷² tells us that prince Chiu-lung was born of king Aśoka of Magadha in the direct line⁷³. The story is not corroborated from any source of India, but it is worthwhile to note that the northern section of the Kubu valley, which was on the direct route from Manipur to Burma, is still designated Mauriya or Mauria⁷⁴; the designation is doubtless reminiscent of the name of the imperial Mauryas. It is not unlikely that the missionary activities of Sona and Uttara in Suvarṇabhūmi⁷⁵ had something to do with the spread of Aśokan legends in Burma and Yunnan. In view of this background, where Indian culture and civilisation seem to have made a good headway, one would naturally be tempted to endorse the remark of Pelliot about the use of the Yunnan-Bactriana route through northern India and Upper Burma in the 2nd century B.C.

The Tufan-Nepal route discussed earlier and the Puṇḍravardhana-Yunnan route through Kāmarūpa and Upper Burma met somewhere in the border areas of Kāmarūpa and Puṇḍravardhana, thus merging with the Tāmralipti-Taxila route in the region of Puṇḍravardhana and Kajāṅgala. People travelling from Bengal to China or the Far East had the choice of at least three routes before them, according as they lived in northern, central or lower Bengal. These routes ran even as they do now, through the Brahmaputra valley to the Patkoi range and then through its passes to upper Burma. The second route passes through Manipur to the Chindwin-Irrawaddy valley at the important town of Bhamo, while the third one passes through Arakan to the lower Irrawaddy valley, the important halting stations on this route being Pagan and Prome. There were also some minor routes to Burma which cut across the Hakawang Valley and passed through Myitkyna to Tipland, near Margherita, and the Chaukan Pass⁷⁶. The Donkin, Natu and Jilap also gained importance as providing passages to the eastern countries beyond India.

These routes to China and countries of the Far East must have required some centuries to develop, but the earliest probable record for this contact, apart from legendary and proto-historical accounts, does not appear to date before the 2nd century B.C. It is well-known that Chinese rulers belonging to the Han dynasty which came to power in 202 B.C., were eager to establish friendly relations with its neighbours, particularly with the Hiung-nu (Hun) who occupied the western marches of the Chinese empire. As I have already briefly stated, the Chinese emperor Wu-ti, the sixth monarch of the Han dynasty, desirous of securing friendship of the Yuen-chi, the Tokharians, the Sogdians and others, sent Chang-Ch'ien, commander of the guards at the Imperial palace gates, to contact these people in 138 B.C. with 100 followers. They were forced to stay among the Hiung-nu people for about 10 years and, on one occasion, taking advantage of their laxity in surveillance, he escaped with his old comrades to his native country China. The Report which he submitted to the emperor apparently in 126 B.C. furnished accurate details regarding the countries of Ta-yuan (Ferganah), Ngan-si (Parthia), Ta-hia (Bactriana) and others. In Bactriana (mod. Balkh) he was "astonished to find bamboos and woven materials originating in the Chinese provinces now known under the name of Yunnan and Szechwan; he asked the natives how they procured the goods; he heard of the existence of the rich and powerful country of Shen-tu (India)...." He was told that these materials were brought by Indian merchants through northern India.⁷⁷

Now, the Indian merchants he met gave the information to Chang Ch'ien regarding the direction of the country they came from. Chang Ch'ien concluded from this that it lay in the southern vicinity of China. The emperor, when informed of this, sent an exploratory team in the due course to find out a short route to India, but the mission did not prosper on account of opposition put forward by the alien ruler of Yunnan. Later on, when the Han emperor Ming (58-75 A.D.) ascended on the throne, he took steps to conquer Yunnan, in the West of which lay Ngai-lao. He annexed the territory within the Chinese empire in 69 A.D., thus opening or reopening what came to be known as the Tsang-ko road, which passed through Ngai-lao in western Yunnan. After this conquest, a prefecture was established in Yung-ch'ang, of which the headquarters lay East of the Salween, some sixty miles from the present Burma frontier⁷⁸. Doubtless this facilitated trade and commerce between South-western China and eastern India to a certain extent. Boulnois has drawn our attention⁷⁹ to the interesting fact that archaeological explorations in China have enabled us to distinguish the products which came from southern China by way of

north-eastern India and those which came from northern China through the central Asian route.

While discussing this text Pelliot made the query : from where else could the products of the South-west of China be transported to the borders of India except by way of Burma ? Liebenthal who compared the passage with the original says⁸⁰ : "The text says that the bamboo-sticks were from Chiung⁸¹, a town not far from I, and the material from Shu. Both the towns were in Szechwan. We shall see below that from Shu a very important route started which later on led to Lhasa and Assam." Liebenthal questions : Is it possible that merchants made the enormous turn through Burma in stead of using the east route through Tibet ?"

In the absence of any positive statement regarding the route followed by the caravan from Szechwan to Bactriana in the 2nd century B.C., it is difficult to say whether this particular caravan descended into the plains of eastern India through Tibet or Burma, but there is greater probability in favour of the view of Pelliot. Because, whereas the North Burma route was dotted with many Indian settlements from pre-Christian times, the same can hardly be said regarding Tibet, which was almost out of bounds before the 7th century A.D. from the view-point of frequented caravan-routes. The view expressed by Pelliot therefore seems to represent the correct state of affairs.

It may be mentioned now that the Ngai-lao country in western Yunnan, through which the contemporary caravan-routes passed, was according to Chavannes,⁸² converted to Buddhism during the rule of the Han dynasty (206 B.C. 251 A.D.). A tradition current in Yunnan indeed tells us that the first Indian Buddhist missionaries to China, namely Kāśyapa Mātanga and Dharmaratna went to the Chinese capital by the Central Asian route in the first century A.D.⁸³ Be that as it may, not much is known of North-eastern route to China in the following century. A faint trace is, however, noticeable in the Chinese classic called Hou-Han-Shu (c 430 A.D.) which provides us with some information regarding the arrival in China of acrobats sent by Yong Yeou ti'ao, a ruler of the Shan state on the upper valley of the Salween, in 120 A.D. These acrobats have been described as natives of Ta-ts'in and capable of "working charms, breathing fire, knotting and unknotting their limbs unaided, interchanging the heads of cows and horses", etc. The acrobats were presented by an ambassador on behalf of the king, but while returning home with Chinese products, including silk, the said ambassador disposed of the articles to his neighbours on the Indo-Burmese frontier. The itinerary involved here pre-supposes a link-road connecting Kāmarūpa, Burma

and China. This is also confirmed by the *Wei-lu* (3rd century A.D.), which refers to a route from Ta-ts'in to China through Yung-Ch'ang in Yunnan. Some scholars also believe that the embassy to China sent by a ruler of the Kapili Valley as referred to in the *Shung-shu* (A.D. 420-479) had probably used the route through upper Burma^{83a}.

More positive information is available from the Records of I-tsing (671-695 A.D.), which refer to a Chinese temple (Chih-na ssu), then in a dilapidated condition, at a place called Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no. It has been identified by Dr. R. C. Majumdar with the Mrgasthāpana stūpa of Varendra, of which a pictorial representation is furnished in the illustrated Cambridge MS (Add. 1643) dated 1015 A.D.⁸⁴ The stūpa is said to have been established there 500 years before I-tsing's time. The round figure 500 has encouraged some scholars to think that the date need not be taken too literally and that Śrīgupta of the text may be the grandfather of Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Whether this identification be valid or not, it may be admitted in a general way that Mahārāja Śrīgupta of Varendra had established a China temple in North Bengal in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. This confirms what we know from other sources about the movement of traders and others through North Bengal to China in the early centuries of the Christian era. Now this Chinese temple was constructed for the benefit of 20 Chinese pilgrims who had arrived by the Tsang-k'o route. This route passed through the province of Shu (i.e., Szechwan) and old Ngai-lao or Tali region in Yunnan, of which more details will be furnished later on. Liebenthal while commenting on the text has observed⁸⁵ that this is the only instance we know of regarding any travellers who came by this route and survived. If the details furnished above be correct, these would signify that the route, though risky, was used by travellers at least in the latter part of the third century A.D. The journey between Yunnan and India through Kāmarūpa and North Bengal was greatly facilitated on account of the establishment of a Chinese prefecture at Yung-Ch'ang.

The long spell of disturbed condition in China after the 3rd century A.D. hindered movement of people and goods. The overland route to North Bengal through upper Burma and Kāmarūpa languished, and ultimately the authorities had to close down the prefecture of Yung-Ch'ang in 342 A.D. This meant virtual closure of the Tsang-k'o route till the return of better days. Although ideal conditions were not restored till the advent of the T'ang dynasty in 618 A.D., people and goods began to move again. This is somewhat confirmed by the testimony of Yuan Chwang who travelled in eastern India. He has stated in one place that when he met Kumāra-rajā (Bhāskaravarman), the king of Kāmarūpa, the latter enquired of him of

a Chinese song popular in his country. It refers to the song of victory of prince Ts'in-wang, the second son of Kao-tsu, the T'ang emperor, over the rebels in 619 A.D.⁸⁶ The song travelled to Kāmarūpa before 638 A.D., a phenomenon which indicates closer overlands contact of eastern India and China than we give credit for. It is obvious that the song referred to here travelled in the wake of caravans which proceeded along the North-Burma route, but the precise alignments of the route by which the song travelled to Kāmarūpa cannot be determined now.

A more direct, but still unsatisfactory, account of the Sino-Indian route has been furnished by the same pilgrim while he took leave of the Kāmarūpa king in 644 A. D.⁸⁷ He states : "On the East, this country (Kāmarūpa) is bounded by a line of hills and mountains. There is no great city. The frontier area is contiguous to that of the South-West tribes (of China) that is (those who live there) belong racially to the Man and Lao. On the enquiry into the population (of this region), I learnt that after a *two month' journey* one reaches the South-west frontiers of the province of Shu (Szechwan). But the mountains and rivers present obstacles and pestilential air, the poisonous vapours, the fatal snakes, the destructive vegetation, all these causes of death prevail."

As regards the Man and the Lao people referred to above, it may be noted that the Chinese describe the 'barbarians' of southern China as Man⁸⁸. Here perhaps a specific tribe is meant. According to the Ngai-lao (Nan-Chao) legends,⁸⁹ Ti Mong-tseu had nine sons, of whom one became the ancestors of the Man tribe. These Man-people in the 7th century A. D. lived in western Yunnan near the frontier of North Kāmarūpa, along with the Lao-people. These Lao-people, of whom one of the cognate tribes was the Ngai-lao, lived in the prefecture of Yung-Ch'ang in western Yunnan with Tali-fu as their capital. The extract from Yuan Chwang given above seems to refer to the Tsang-k'o route, of which more details are furnished in Hui-lin's *Glossary*, to which attention was invited by Chavannes. While translating I-tsing's papers, he referred to this passage, in which an ancient overland route from Shu (Szechwan) to Kāmarūpa has been elaborately described. The text of the gloss has been retranslated by Liebenthal as follows :⁹⁰

"Starting from Shu-ch'uan (Szechwan) and travelling South, one passes through the town of Yu-yao, Yueh-hsi (?), Pu-wei (?), Yung-ch'ang⁹¹. The ancient name (of the tribes inhabiting this area) is Ngai-lao. Under the Han dynasty, they were subdued. Later their name was changed into Shen-tu⁹². The country was named after their kings. These people are descendants from a race which worshipped a dragon ancestor. Today they are counted among the southern Man. In the extreme northern frontier area the Ch'iang (Tunguts, Tibetans) live

mixed (with the Man). Crossing this Man frontier area in a western direction, (the traveller) enters the southern frontier area of Tibet. Further West, passing several high mountain-ranges and lofty peaks, crossing rivers and valley, after travelling altogether more than 3000 li, one crosses (for the second time) the Tibetan frontier. Climbing again over a southern spur of the Himalayas one enters the South-eastern part of East T'ien-chu (India)⁹³ which is formed by the country of Kāmarūpa. Nearby, to the South are the countries of Samataṭa, Arakan (?)⁹⁴ and Tāmralipti. This mountain path is the shortest way to India, but dangerous and difficult. It is the quickest overland route between the T'ang empire and the Five Indias. One has however to choose the best time. In midsummer it is impassable because of the heat, diseases and poisonous insects. Few of those who have met (these dangers) survived. In autumn, it is impassable because the rivers are swollen through heavy rain. And in winter climbing the slopes is difficult, because snow collects and cold is severe, though poisonous animals are absent. A suitable time for the travel are only the first three months of the year (middle of February to middle of April). Besides, one needs interpreters for a number of tribal language and has to carry goods along in order to pay for transit. As one relies upon local guides, one has to go here and there seeking information in order to make sure that one will reach his destination. For the the mountains are dangerous and without roads and it is difficult to find a path through...."

Now, Hui-lin's *Glossary*, completed in 817 A.D., reverts, according to the geographical work *Kua-ti Chin* composed in 642 A.D., to, Yuan Chwang's *Travels*, which report on the North-eastern route to China, and are almost contemporaneous with the basic materials incorporated into the *Glossary* of Hui-lin. Regarding the texts quoted above, it is remarkable that both Yuan Chwang and Hui-lin refer to the route as passing through the the territory inhabited by the Man and the Lao people. Consequently, there is a great probability that both the routes in view might have been the same. It is stated in the *Glossary* that the route twice crossed the Tibetan frontier, but does not cut across it. So it can not be the Tufan-Nepal route originating in China. Details refer to a route which passed indeed through Yunnan, North Burma and Kāmarūpa, but it was near enough to Tibet. Such a place would have to be near Sadiya-Ledo in the upper course of the Brahmaputra. A further description of the same Tsang-k'o route or a similar one is furnished in the second of the itineraries translated by Pelliot⁹⁵.

Regarding the alignment of this route, it has been stated that it ran from Chu-ko-liang to a Tseng-'ch'ung and covered a distance

of 200 li. The route then went to the West for 103 li up to the town of Mi ; then the route crossed a mountain and after pushing for 200 li came to the town of Li-shuei. The traveller then successively crossed two rivers and then arrived at the town of An-hsi (Mogaung). After going further West and crossing the Mino river (Chindwin ?) and travelling for 1000 li one arrived at the kingdom of the Brahmins who inhabited Ta-ts'in⁹⁶. Further West, crossing a high peak (and travelling) 300 li one arrives at the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, which formed the northern border area of East-India. Further South-West, after 1200 li, one arrives at the kingdom of Puṇḍravardhana which formed the North-eastern frontier of central India. (This route) unites with that which leads from the country of the P'iao⁹⁷ to the Brahmins.

Regarding the alignment of this Pundravardhana-North-Burma-Yunnan-Szechwan route, Liebenthal has observed⁹⁸ that it began in the Yung-Ch'ang district and led North to the frontier which was always formed by the Chin-sha-chiang (the upper Yangtse river). It then proceeded towards the West, perhaps through the Shih-men pass into Pon-nan wherefrom the present Assam frontier would be, as the crow flies, about 200 miles. Crossing the western side of Mekong, the route cut across the territory of the 'Brahmins from Ta-ts'in' and passed through the Namkin range before descending into the Brahma-putra valley in the vicinity of modern Sadiya.

In spite of the wealth of details found in the *Glossary* of Hui-lin regarding the Tsang-k'o route, the road was not officially opened for the major part of the 7th century A.D. It may be recalled that Lien Po-ying, the governor of the upper valley of Kien Chang between 627 and 649 and the governor of Cheng-ton in 698 proposed the reopening of the Tsang-k'o route referred to above,⁹⁹ but it came to nothing. The East-West routes passing through central Burma to Bengal remained however operative in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. ; this was mainly due to the establishment of the Mao-Shan empire which extended, under its powerful ruler Hkun-Long, over vast tracts from Chieng Mai in northern Thailand to Lauhitya (or Brahma-putra) and Assam hills in the West.¹⁰⁰ This must have facilitated greater contact through the traditional routes of Central Burma to Bengal.

The Tsang-k'o route was however reopened by Ku-lo-feng in the later part of the 8th century A.D. A Nan-chao inscription of 766 A.D.¹⁰¹ also refers to one sector of this route, because it says : "(A route) leads South to the P'o-hai, to the West they are near to the Ta-ts'in".

I have so far discussed the routes of eastern India to China through (1) Tibet and (2) North Burma and have also described the three routes which passed from Bengal to three zones of Burma. It appears that one or more of the Burmese routes linked up Puṇḍravarḍhana, through Kāmarūp with Tongking in the Far East. Indeed, such a route existed at least in the 5th century A.D. It may be recalled that Che-yen who had come to India with Fahien, while travelling in Kasmir, requested the Buddhist community of that place to send to China a scholar of repute. The choice fell on Buddhābhadrā who claimed descent from the Śākya family of Kapilvastu. The party travelled on foot for three years and reached Tongking, apparently passing through Puṇḍravarḍhana and Burma. From Tongking Buddhābhadrā took a boat for China¹⁰².

But this route was not easily accessible even after two centuries. Yuan Chwang,¹⁰³ while travelling in Samatāṣa in South-eastern India refers to some countries of South-East Asia, such as Śrīkṣetra, Kāmalāṅkā, Dvāravātī, Iśānapura, Mahācampā "which is the same as Lin-i", and Yamanadvīpa. Regarding facilities of travel in these countries he says, "These six countries are so hemmed in by mountains and rivers that they are inaccessible, but their limits and the character of the people and country could be learnt by enquiry." In other words, Yuan Chwang was not well-informed regarding the road-system of these countries, but it may be believed, as Dr. R. C. Majumdar has stated,¹⁰⁴ that there was a regular intercourse by land between eastern India and these eastern regions before the 7th century A.D.

A detailed account of this route from Tongking to eastern India is however met with in the writings of Chia Tan, who composed his work sometime between 785 and 805 A.D. It is difficult to say if it was the same route which was traversed by Buddhābhadrā some centuries earlier, but since routes ordinarily follow a set pattern this may indeed be so, though we may not be certain about it. It seems that in the 6th century A.D., if not earlier, people going to the Far East from the port of Tāmralipti could curtail the tedious all-sea route to China by getting down at Tavoy down the Gulf of Martaban. According to Q. Wales¹⁰⁵, such travellers could then proceed to the Menam Valley in the East, passing along the Imperial Trade Route, which ran parallel to the river Mun, leaving behind the wayside towns of Lopburi and Śrīdeva, until this river emptied itself in the Mekong. The Imperial Trade Route then followed the lower course of the Mekong, until it met the sea in the neighbourhood of Trang, to the South of Saigon, but river transport was not possible beyond Bassac in the middle Mekong, as it "separated from

the lower Mekong and the sea by the navigable rapids Khon, which constituted in a sense the terminus of this route"¹⁰⁶. Another ancient route, 140 miles long, is still traceable from Pimai to Angkor¹⁰⁸.

Coedes¹⁰⁷ has further observed that travellers who landed at Tavoy could also cross the hills at Three Pagodas pass and proceed to the Menam delta by the Kanburi river. On the banks of this river lay the very ancient side of Phong Tuk, which was not far off from the equally old site of Phra Pathom. It is also possible to proceed to the Menam valley from Moulmein on the Gulf Martaban to the town of Rahaeng on one of the branches of the Menam.

Chia Tan had not however these routes in view, as his Tongking-Kāmarūpa-Puṇḍravardhana route, with which the net-work of Indian routes were connected, passed through the northernmost tracts. Chia Tan says¹⁰⁸ that, from Tongking, the route started towards the West and passed successively through Yunnansen, Yunnan-fo and Tali-fu ; going westwards it proceeded to Chou-ko-liang to the East of Momein (Teng-yueh) in the stretch between Shivelī and Salween. Here the route bifurcated, the main route passing through the valley of the Shivelī and joining the Irrawaddy on the South-West ; the second route directly led to the West. From Chou-ko-liang, the main route crossed the frontier of P'iao (Burma), near Lo, the frontier-town of Nan-Chao ; and passing through the mountain tribes, it reached Si-li, lying half-way between Tagaung and Madalay ; it passed by Toumin (Pagan) and reached Śrīkṣetra (Prome) and then passing through the Black Mountains (Arakan) in the western direction, it reached Kāmarūpa. Here it rejoined the second route.

Now, the second route from Chou-ko-ling went westwards to Teng Ch'ong (Momein) and crossing the mountains at Mi reached Li-shouei on the Irrawaddy (near Bhamo) ; crossing the river Longtsuan (Magaung), it passed the town called An-hsi, near which lived the Small Brahmins of Ta-ts'in ; and going westwards crossing the river Min-no (Chindween), reached the country of the Great Brahmins of Ta-ts' in. Then crossing the mountains it reached Kāmarūpa. Going North-West from Kāmarūpa and crossing the river Karatoyā it reached country of Pen-na-fa-t'an-no (Puṇḍravardhana). Proceeding South-West it reached Kie-chou-wou-lo (?) (Kajāṅgala) on the right bank of the Ganges and further to West it reached Magadha.

It is evident that this renewed link-up of Yunnan with India through Kāmarūpa and North Bengal was rendered possible on account of the endeavour of king Ko-lo-feng, the real founder of the Nan-chao empire who died in 778 A.D. A comparison of the different texts referred to above would indicate that although travellers started

from the provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan in South-western China, they had the choice of several routes before them, according as their destination was lower Burma, lower Bengal or the upper Gangetic valley through Puṇḍravardhana and beyond. These routes to Puṇḍravardhana cut, in the terrain of Burma, some rivers of considerable length, such as the Irrawaddy and the Salween, and these could connect Yung-Ch'ang and I-chou, both in Yunnan, with a sea-port on the coast of Pegu¹⁰⁹. It is not unlikely that some travellers moved down these and other rivers to the coastal ports on the Gulf of Martaban, whence they could board some coastal vessels bound for the port of Tāmralipti. Indeed, excavations at the mouths of the Irrawaddy and the Salween have yielded sections of foreign ships, together with vestiges of chains and anchors.

In any case, available evidence indicates that caravan routes from eastern India to Yunnan through North Burma also remained active in the middle of the 8th century A.D. There are also Indian data bearing on the subject. It is stated in the ancient Manipur Chronicle that Nao-Thing-Thong, king of Manipur, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Ko-lo-feng is said to have conquered North Burma, Assam and Manipur. It is also asserted that during the reign of Shi-leng (Tien Lung, 859-77), the ruler of Nan chao, when the Pāla-king Nārāyaṇapāla¹¹⁰ was ruling over Bengal and Bihar, the Nan-chao empire was extended up to Mo-Ch'ieh-t'ō *i.e.*, Magadha, apparently meaning the eastern frontier of the Magadhan empire¹¹¹. These claims may have been exaggerated but there is hardly any doubt that the authority of the Nan-chao rulers mentioned above must have contributed to the improvement of the overland communications between North Bengal and China through Kāmarūpa and North Burma. It was therefore possible in the following century, to be precise in 964 A.D., for the Chinese emperor to send 300 missionaries to India whence they returned to their homeland through Yunnan¹¹².

This close contact between East India and Upper Burma led to the growth of a degraded form of Tantrik Buddhism known as the Aricūl. This cult seems to have migrated overland from North Bengal and Nepal in the 10th century A.D. or thereabout¹¹³. Greater contact was ensured when Hso-Hkān-Hpā, the Mao-Shan ruler (1220 A.D.) planned to build up a great empire, which he succeeded in doing, by conquering, among others, Manipur and Ming Wehsāli Long (mod. Assam). In these expeditions, the army seems to have marched to Manipur through North Arakan, Lushai hills, Tripura and Kachar.¹¹⁴ The Chutiya kingdom in eastern Assam was also conquered and a vassalage introduced. The Mishmi country and Nagaland are also reported to have been conquered on this

occasion¹¹⁵. These conquests, even if somewhat exaggerated,¹¹⁶ naturally facilitated the movement of people from Bengal to Burma and countries lying beyond. The warfare of subsequent centuries indicate that land-route did not fall into disuse and religious men occasionally braved the dangers of this Kāmarūpa-Burma route. Tucci has drawn our attention to the journey of the Indian Buddhist monk named Buddhagupta who went from Gauhati to Pagan in the 16th century A.D.¹¹⁷ In 1866, during the Burmese invasion of Assam about 6000 Burmese soldiers and about 8000 auxiliaries crossed the Patkoi ranges.

REFERENCES

1. VII. 12.
2. II. 4. Later lexicographies also refer to various kinds of roads, such as *rathya* (a carriage street), *laghurathya*, etc. Vide in this connexion, *Vaijayanṭi* of Yādayaprakāśa (ed. Oppert), p. 160 ; *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, v. 289, etc.
3. II. 1.7.
4. Vide in this connexion, *Jāt.* II, p. 277.
5. *Jāt.* I, pp. 377 ff.
6. V. 1.77.
7. McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, 272-8.
8. *Mbh.*, Sabhā, XX.
9. *Vinaya Texts* III, p. 401.
- 9a. Ed. P. Ratnam, *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 219 ff.
10. I.8.3 ; S. B. E. XXII (ed. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, pt. I) p. 84.
11. VI. 4.
12. It was compiled by the Brahmin writer Somadeva around 1070 A. D. to please queen Sūryavati, consort of king Ananta of Kashmir. The work has been divided into 124 *varaṅgas* or waves, totalling about 22,000 śloka. C. H. Tawney has translated this work in 10 volumes under the title "*The Ocean of Story*".
13. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, pp. 69, 71, 74.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
15. *Digha Nikāya* II pp. 72—137.
16. *Mahāvagga* VI and VII ; *Jāt* I pp. 92, 348.
17. *Mbh.*, Sabhā XX.
18. *Majjhima Nikāya* I 339.
19. *Mahāvagga* I. 4.2.
20. *Bālakāṇḍa*, 48. 15.
21. *Mbh.*, Sabhā, XIX.
22. *Mbh.*, Sabhā XXIX.
- 22a. Vol. IX (1967).
23. XIX, 6.
24. In the Barabar hill of South Bihar, for instance, the Maukhari king Anantavarman installed an image, but the inscription (CII, III, p. 227) incised on that occasion tells us that the image was installed in the cave of the Vinḍhya mountain.

25. *History of Bengal I* (Ed. R. C. Majumdar), p. 3.
26. Beglar in *A. S. I. VIII* pp. 48—57.
27. *Notes on the district of Gaya*, p. 16.
28. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World I* (1957—edn), p. 45.
29. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India II*, pp. 182 ff.
30. *The Life of Yuan Chwang*, compiled by the monk Hui-li (Publ. The Chinese Buddhist Association, Peking, 1959) pp. 124 ff.
31. Tr. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, etc., pp. XXXI.
32. It has been successfully identified by Marshall (Vide *A. S. I.* 1905 pp. 86-106) as one of the five hills at Rājagṛha.
33. Takasaku *op. cit.* p. XXXI.
34. According to the calculation of Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 485, one Yojana of Fahien was equal to 6.71 English miles.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
36. Ed. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal II*, p. 32.
37. V. I. 36-38 (verses 1011—13).
38. On this route and other particulars, vide D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 206 ff.
39. Vide in this connexion, Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 206 ff, 242.
40. Mittal, *An Early History of Orissa*, pp. 5 ff., has described the topography of this region.
41. Ed. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 663 f.n. 6; N. R. Ray, *Bāṅgālir Itihāsa*, pp. 115-16, 119.
42. Beal, *op. cit.*, IV pp. 408 ff.; Watters. *op. cit.*, II pp. 193 ff.
43. It was located on the Kṛṣṇā, near Amarāvati. Vide *A Comprehensive History of India II* (Ed. K. A. N. Sastri), p. 754.
44. *Hellenistic civilisation*, pp. 211-13.
45. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, App. 14, pp. 488-90.
46. *East and West*, vol. IX, pts. 1-2, pp. 4-6 and plate. Another Armaic text of Priyadarśana (either Candragupta Maurya or Aśoka) was discovered at the important terminus of Taxila (*Ed. Ind.* XIX).
47. *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, sec. 57.
48. For map of the Silk Road, vide Boulnois, *The Silk Road*, p. 50; particulars are also to be found in Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes, a History of Central Asia*, pp. 39 ff.
49. Regarding Palmyra, vide R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India* (Indian Embassy to Augustus), p. 481.
50. R. C. Majumdar, *Ibid.*, p. 356.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 362.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 363.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 308 (Sec. 64)
54. Bagrow has pointed out in the *Geografiska Annaler* (Stockholm), Vol. XXVII (1945) pp. 318—87 that Ptolemy's *Geography*, in its present form, was probably compiled by a rather unknown Byzantine author who flourished in the 10th or 11th century A. D. He based his work on principles enunciated by Ptolemy, whose

original writings, in some parts, might have been incorporated into this work. The extant MS-maps were not drawn until towards the end of the 13th century. Vide also discussion in Wheatley, *Golden Khersonese*, pp. 138—176, for a critical study of some areas covered by Ptolemy's *Geography*.

55. I. 17. 5 (R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 363).
56. Ed K. A. N. Sastri, *Comprehensive History of India* II, p. 772.
57. Sec. 64 and Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 272.
58. Vide *Peoples' China*, May 1956, quoted by Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 182, f. n. 8.
59. For details see *infra*.
60. P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 76.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
63. A Chattopadhyaya, *Afisa and Tibet*, pp. 228 ff.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 311.
65. About two miles from modern Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal.
66. *Lamaism*, (1959) p. 36.
- 66a. *Afisa and Tibet*.
67. Near the bend of the river Ganges at Rajmahal. Vide Rennel, *Memoir of a map of Hindoostan*, p. 55.
68. Identified with Deokot or Damdamah, South of Dinajpur.
69. Tr. Eliot and Dowson, *Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri* (2nd ed.), p. 61. Commenting on this passage Blochman says (*Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal*, p. 145): "The traffic between Bengal and Tibbat (*i.e.*, Tibet) in those days and even up to the reign of Akbar was considerable. Minhaj speaks of no less than 35 roads into Tibbat between the bend of the Brahmaputra and Tirhut. To one of these Major Raverty's MSS give the (slightly doubtful) name of "Mahamhai Pass."
70. Vide Gogoi, *The Tai and the Tai kingdoms*, pp. 104, 105.
71. Vide R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu colonies in the Far East* (1963) pp. 14 ff. Regarding the early Burmese tradition about the foundation of such Indian colonies, one may refer to D. N. Roy, "The role of Indians in ancient Burmese history" in *Prabuddha Bharata*, 1952. See also Hall, *Burma* (1950)*pp. 1 ff.
72. It was written by Yang-tsai of Chen-T'u-fu; this place was located in Szechwan.
73. Vide Carthew, *The History of the Tai in Yunnan*, in JSS, XL, pt. 1, 6—7 Cordies. *La Province du Yunnan*, pp. 532—34.
74. Phayre, *History of Burma* (1883), pp. 6—7, 15.
75. *Mahāvamsa* XXII, 44—45. Scholars are usually sceptical about the mission of Sona and Uttara in Suvarṇabhūmi, by which lower Burma is usually meant, but it probably comprised a greater geographical area. According to local tradition in Thailand, the ancient city of Chaisiri or Sirichai, where now stands the city of P'rapatom, was also visited by these two missionaries (vide Le May, *A concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, p. 27). I do not think it is advisable to reject this persistent tradition in a summary fashion, particularly because the missionaries who were despatched to convert different countries, according to

details furnished in the *Mahāvamsa*. chap. XII and *Dīpavamsa* VIII, started for those places and relic-urns or caskets of some of them have been discovered from tope No. 2. of the Sanchi group (Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 287 316—17. The probability of their going to Suvarṇabhūmi is therefore greater than we give credit for.

76. Regarding these routes, vide *JASB* V pp. 203—4; *Ibid.*, XLVIII, II, pp. 69—82; Pamberton, *Eastern Frontier*, etc., pp. 54 ff; *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.* 1869. During 1941—42, when World War II was raging in full, the British soldiers and Indian refugees retreated to Assam through the Manipur-route. Many Indian refugees also moved through the Hukawang Valley to Assam near Margherita.

77. Chavannes, *Memoires historiques*, etc., I pp. 72—73.

78. G. H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin in *JBRs*, XXIX (1939) p. 264.

79. *The Silk Road*, p. 56.

80. *JGIS* XV (1956), p. 3.

81. By chung-bamboos Laufer understood walking sticks of square bamboos which grew in North-East Yunnan.

82. *JA* (1900) pp. 430—33.

83. It is said that Kāśyapa Mātāṅga was a native of Central India and that he went to China from the kingdom of the Ta Tseh Chih by following the Central Asian route. The central Asian route had been rendered safer on account of the defeat of the Hsiung-nu tribe in the hands of the Chinese emperor Ming-Ti.

The place is usually believed to refer to the Roman empire, but it seemed to me to refer to the Hinduized State of the same name on the Kāmarūpa-Burma frontier, as noted by Chia Tan. See *Infra*.

83a. Vide *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 1187 ff.

84. A Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, Pl. I, 4.

85. *JGIS* XV (1956), p. 10.

86. Beal, *Buddhist Records* IV pp. 405—6.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 406, with improved translation of Liebethal in *JGIS*, op. cit.

88. *JAOS* 69 (1949), p. 64.

89. *Nan-Tchao Ye-tche*, pp. 24—5.

90. *JGIS*, op. cit., pp. 9—10.

91. Liebethal has observed that these places might have been garrison towns East of Tali. Regarding Yu-yao, he says (*op. cit.*, f. n. 40) that this place can not be identified now, but that Yueh-hsi is now a town in Hsi-k'ang lying on the route between Szechwan and Kunming. Pu-wei is however the same as Pao-shan i. e. Yung-ch'ang.

92. Liebethal states that, in the eyes of the people of China, Shen-tu (India) began immediately behind the Erh-ho (the region of Tali); hence the territory lying to the West of Tali was called Shen-Tu.

93. It is loosely stated to be India or North India. Chinese records make it clear that the region covered by this term is the Gangetic and the Brahmaputra valley.

94. In the Cantonese dialect, it is Ho-lai-kai-lo. It is doubtless Harikela, a well-known geographical entity in lower Bengal. Its equation with Arakan by Liebethal is evidently wrong.

95. *Deux Itinéraires*, pp. 371—72.
96. This appears to lie in the North-western part of Burma abutting on Kāmarūpa.
97. This refers to the Burmese Pyū, a Tibeto-Burman tribe.
98. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11—12.
99. Chavannes in *JA* (19 0) pp. 430—33.
100. Gogoi, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
101. Chavannes in *JA* (1900) pp. 430—33.
102. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
103. Beal, *op. cit.*, IV (1958) p. 407.
104. *Kumbujādeśa* (1944) pp. 15—16.
105. *Towards Angkor*, p. 111 (map).
106. Coedes, *The Hinduized States*, p. 28.
- 106a. Vide Finot in *BEFEO* XXV (1925) pp. 417—22.
107. *Ibid.*
108. *BEFEO* IV (1904) pp. 131 ff and 142—43.
109. Cf. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 179.
110. Ed. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal* I, p. 176.
111. *JBRs* XIV, pt. II, pp. 108—10.
112. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu colonies in the Far East*, p. 258.
113. For details vide A. S. I., Ann. Re p., 1915—16 ; *JBRs* IX, pt. III (1919) p. 155.
114. Robinson, *Account of Assam*, p. 160.
115. Gogoi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 161.
116. Briggs in *JAOS* 69 (1949) p. 67.
117. *IHQ* VII pp. 683—701.

A NOTE ON TWO AHOM COINS*

SUNIL KUMAR DAS

There is a controversy regarding the attribution of two categories¹ of octagonal silver coins dated 1570 Śaka (1648 A.D.) containing the following legends in Sanskrit language and Bengali-Assamese script².



1

OBVERSE

- R/Z (i) Śrī-śrī-Sva-³
(ii) rga-nārāyaṇa-
(iii) devasya-Śāke-
(iv) 1570

‘[Coin] of His Majesty (deva) Svarganārāyaṇa, 1648 A.D.’

REVERSE

- (i) Śrī-śrī-Ha-
(ii) ri-Hara-Cara-
(iii) ṇa-parāya-
(iv) ṇasya

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1. Three specimens of category 1 each having weight of 173.2, 175.2 and 177.4, and size of .9, .82 and .81 respectively have been discovered.

2. For description and illustration of the Coins see *Arunoday* (an Assamese magazine), February, 1952, p.29 ; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum (IMC)*, Vol.1, 1906, p.299⁴ pl. xxix, No.2 ; J. Allan in *NC*, 4th Sr., Vol. IX (1909), pp. 313—14, pl.xxiii, No. 7 ; A. H. Botham in *JPRASB* (NS, No. xxiv), Vol.X (1914), p.457 ; also his *Catalogue of Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam (CPCCA)*, 1930, p.452, pl.II, No. 8 ; A. N. Botham and F.R.Friel, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam (SCPCCA)*, 1919, p.163, pl II, No.8 ; Stapleton, *JPRASB* (NS, No.xlvi), Vol.II (1963), p. 119N.

3. This is the reading of Botham. But according to Smith and Allan the reading is Sṛ which appears to be incorrect.

'intent on the feet of Hari and Hara (Viṣṇu and Śiva)'

2
R

OBVERSE⁴

Same as category I⁵

REVERSE

- (i) Śrī-śrī-Ha-
- (ii) ri-Harendra⁶-ca-
- (iii) raṇa-parāya-
- (iv) ṇasya

'intent on the feet of Har-Har-Endra (Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra)'

Scholars like the editor of *Arunaday*, V.A. Smith, J. Allan and H. E. Stapleton attributed the above coins to Pratāpasimha *alias* Shū-sheng-phā. On the other hand, some scholars like Botham and others differed from the above writers and are in one accord that the coins were issued by Jayadhavasimha *alias* Shū-tām-lā. E. A. Gait⁷ who is the best writer on medieval Assamese history and was the authority for regarding 1648 A.D. as falling within Jayadhvajasingha's reign period accepted A. W. Botham's views as numismatic support to his conclusion in the second edition of his *History of Assam*⁸.

The genesis of the controversy can be traced to the chronology⁹ compiled by Kasinath Tamuli Phukan and the absence of the name

4. Only one specimen of category 2 has been unearthed so far having weight of 177.8 and size of .95 respectively.

5. The reading of the Coin is found only in Allan's paper in *NC*, Vol. IX, (1909). But he did not illustrate the Coin.

6. Numismatists understand *Harendra* in the sense of 'Śiva'; but D. C. Sircar is of the opinion that *Har-Endra* means 'Śiva and Indra' (cf. *JAIH*, Vol. VI, p.293).

7. Following the incorrect chronology compiled by Kasinath, Gait suggested 1648 A.D. as falling within Pratāpasimha's reign (see *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam (RPHRA)*, 1897, p.3). But in his subsequent work (*History of Assam (HA)*, 1st ed., 1906, pp. 102ff.; Appd. A(ii)) he modified his views and placed Pratāpasimha and Jayadhvajasingha in the period from 1603 to 1641 A.D. and 1648 to 1663 A.D.

8. *HA*, 1926, pp. 104—05, note.

9.	Name	A.D.	Śaka	Month & Day	Period of region		
					Y	M	D
(i)	Shū-khām-phā (Khorā Sajā)	1552	1474	Kārttika 29	58	8	26
(ii)	Shū-sheng-phā (Pratāpasimha)	1611	1553	Śrāvaṇa 25	37	3	26

of the issuer on the coins dated 1570 Śaka (1648 A.D.). Kashinath's chronology was followed by W. Robinson,¹⁰ Gunabhiram Barua,¹¹ the Baptist Mission Press of Sibsagar¹² and Harakanta Barua¹³ who regarded 1648 A.D. as falling within Pratāpasimha's reign.

In 1852, the editor of the *Arunaday* published a facsimile of a coin which bears the obverse legend *Śrī-śrī-Svarganārāyaṇa-devasya-Śāke*, 1570¹⁴. The editor explained the term *Svarganārāyaṇa* as being applied to Pratāpasimha who according to Kashinath's chronology ruled from 1611 to 1648 A.D. Thus, numismatic support accorded to Kasinath's chronology as far as Pratāpasimha and 1570 Śake were concerned became irrefutable and it firmly gained ground amongst the followers of Kasinath.

V.A. Smith¹⁵ attributed the Coins to Pratāpasimha (1611-48 A.D.) and according to him, the term *Svarganārāyaṇa* refers to the king alone. In regard to his reign period, he seems to have been inspired by the chronology compiled by Kasinath.

Writing in 1909, J. Allan¹⁶ attributed the coins dated 1570 Śaka (1648 A.D.) to Pratāpasimha (1611-48 A.D.) and, in doing so, supported the attribution of Smith¹⁷ and the chronology of Kasinath¹⁸. The date

(iii)	Shū-rām-phā (Bhagā Rajā)	1648	1570	<i>Agrahāyaṇa</i> 23	3	1	5
(iv)	Shū tyin-phā (Nariyā Rajā)	1652	1573	<i>Pauṣa</i> 23	1	10	25
(v)	Shū-tām-lā (Jayadhvajasiṃha)	1653	1575	<i>Agriahāyaṇa</i> 23	9	6	5
(vi)	Shū-pung-mong. (Kasinath Tamuli Phukan, <i>Asom Burañji Sāra</i> (ABS), ed. P.C. Chaudhury, 1964, pp. 23, 33, 92—94; also Appd. A, pp. 90ff.)	1663	1585	<i>Jaiṣṭha</i> 28	6	10	17

10. *Descriptive Account of Assam*, 1841, pp. 164—66.

11. Cf. *Deodhūi Asam Burañji* (DAB), ed. S. K. Bhuyan, 1962, Intro., p. xxxvii

12. Cf. DAB, loc. cit.; also Appd. pp. 234—236.

13. *Assam Burañji* (AB (HB)), ed. S. K. Bhuyan, 1962, pp. 29—48, also Appd. pp. 134—35.

14. *Op. cit.*, Feb., 1852, p. 29.

15. IMC, Vol. I, loc. cit.

16. NC, Vol. IX, p. 301, pl. xxiii, No. 7. According to him Pratāpasimha (1611—48 A.D.) and Jayadhvajasiṃha (1649—63 A.D.) ruled successively, and thereby disregarded the reigns of two intermediate kings Bhagā Rajā (1641—44 A.D.) and Nuriyā Rajā (1644—48 A.D.)

17. Cf. IMC, Vol. I, loc. cit.

18. Cf. *supra*, note 9.

1648 A.D., observes Allan,¹⁹ is of importance, as showing the death of Pratāpasimha cannot be 1641, as given by Gait in his *History of Assam* following the native chronicles (*i.e.*, *Burañjis*).²⁰ According to him, Pratāpasimha was the first Ahom ruler to strike coins with Sanskrit legends and on his coins, used a third name,²¹ Svarganārāyaṇa, given to him on account of his wisdom.

The year following (*i.e.*, 1910) witnesses H.E. Stapleton's 'contributions to the History and Ethnology of North-Eastern India' in which he supported the observations made by Smith and Allan that the coins dated 1570 Śaka (1648 A.D.) were issued by Pratāpasimha 1611—48. On the basis of the reading of an inscription recorded on a cannon of Jayadhvajasingha found at False point,²³ and a coin of Cakradhvajasingha (1663-69 A.D.),²⁴ the successor of the former, Stapleton assigned the date of Jayadhvajasingha as falling between 1654 and 1663 A.D., and thereby accepted the chronology compiled by Kasinath as correct²⁵.

He further observed that the coins dated 1570 Śaka (1648 A.D.) differed greatly from all coins of the Ahom rulers; for, these were minted shortly before the death of Pratāpasimha (*i.e.*, after a long reign of 43 years.²⁶

The inscriptions occurred on the reverse of the coins dated 1570 Śaka bear evidence of greater progress of Vaiṣṇavism in Assam than would be gathered from the *Burañjis*.²⁷ The king's devotions to Hari

19. NC, Vol. IX, *loc. cit.*

20. HA, 1906, pp. 103 ff. and Appd. A (ii).

21. NC, Vol. IX, *loc. cit.* The suggestion of Allan appears to be wrong (see *infra*, notes 42 and 65).

22. JPASB, N. Sr., Vol. VI (1910), p. 627.

23. RPHRA, pp. 8, 10.

24. Cf. JASB, 1864, p. 581; NC, Vol. IX, pp. 301—2, pl. xxiii, No. 8.

25. JPASB, N. Sr. Vol. VI, *loc. cit.* But this suggestion is untenable. When Jayadhvajasingha was fleeing from his capital without instituting any effective resistance to Mir Jumla in 1662, he was, on the way, ridiculed by some female Hawkers on the ground that he passed his time in pleasure and dalliance. Had he put during his fifteen years of reign fifteen piles of earth at proper places, he would not have to flee away ignominiously leaving the country and the people at the mercy of the enemy (see *Sātsarī Assam Burañji* (SAB), ed. S. K. Bhuyan, 1969, p. 9; also in JIH, Vol. V p. 372; cf. DAB, Intro., p. xxxix). The admonition of the Hawkers tends to suggest that he completed fifteen years of reign in 1662. He passed away in 1663 as confirmed by the coin of Cakradhvajasingha. Therefore, counting backwards we find 1648 A. D. as the date of accession of Jayadhvajasingha.

26. JPASB, N. Sr., Vol. VI, p. 626.

27. *Loc. cit.*

Hara and Hari Harendra²⁸ (Viṣṇu and Śiva) are different from the coin-legends of the subsequent kings of Assam in which veneration to Hara Gaurī (Śiva and Durgā) is usually expressed²⁹.

According to Stapleton, Pratāpasimha styled himself *Svarganārāyaṇa-deva* (Viṣṇu) instead of giving his actual name; for, he became Vaiṣṇava shortly before his death.

He further suggested that the attribution of the coins to Jayadhvasimha is improbable because of the fact that he had his spiritual guide a Brāhmaṇa which refers to his Śaiva proclivities, and the title *Svarganārāyaṇa* was not attributed to him³⁰.

He was of the opinion that the absence of Jayadhvasimha's coins was due to the capture of Ghargāon treasury by the Muhammadans and the necessity of paying huge indemnity in cash to the latter in terms of the treaty of Ghilājharighāt (1663 A.D.)³¹.

This is, in all, the extant argument in support of the date 1648 A.D. as falling within Pratāpasimha's reign and the coins dated 1570 Śaka (1648 A.D.) were issued by him.

But the above arguments of the first group of scholars are not, however, conclusive to the second group. E. A. Gait was the first to set the chronology of the Ahom kings in a right way in the 1st edition of his *History of Assam*³². From Shū-kā-phā (1228-68 A.D.) to the accession of Khorā Rajā *alias* Shū-khām-phā in 1552 A.D. observes Gait, there is a complete agreement in regard to the dates between the *Burañjis* and the printed account of Kasinath and his followers Robinson, Gunabhiram and others, and the same unanimity is found from the death of Jayadhva in 1663 A.D. to the termination of the Ahom rule in 1826 A.D.³³ But in regard to the dates of the intermediate kings, Gait differed from the chronology compiled by Kasinath. Preferring to accept a second set of dates³⁴ as known from the *Burañjis*, Gait suggested that Pratāpasimha ruled from 1603 to 1641

28. For explanation of the term see *supra*, note 6.

29. *JASB* (N. Sr.), Vol. VI, *loc. cit.*

30. *Ibid.*, p. 623.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 627. The suggestion of Stapleton is not acceptable; for, we have references to the minting of coins in gold and silver in the reign of Jayadhvasimha (cf. *JASB*, Vol. XLI, p. 78; *NC*, Vol. IX, p. 301). Temporary seizure of Ghargāon by Mīr Jumālā does not at all indicate the absence of coins.

32. Appd. A (ii), p. 358.

33. *HA*, 1906, p. 102.

34.	Name	A.D.	Saka	Month	Period of reign		
				& day	Y	M	D
(i)	Shū.khām-phā	1552	1473	Fālgunā 7	52	6	8

A.D. and Jayadhvajasiṃha from 1648 to 1663 A.D. According to him Kasinath made a mistake, although he had an access to all the records. But it does not necessarily prove that the dates given in the existing *Burañjī*s are incorrect³⁵. The accuracies of the date of the *Burañjī*s can be tested by references to the Muhammadan histories. He also tried to show that if Shū-khām-phā,³⁶ the predecessor of Pratāpasimha did not die till 1611, he must have enjoyed a long reign of 59 years which would be an extraordinarily long period being about four times the average duration of an Ahom king's reign³⁷. These considerations of Gait were solely the result of his examination of the *Burañjī*s. Till then, he was unaware of the existence of the Coins dated 1570 Śaka (1648 A.D.).

Writing in 1914, Botham³⁸ suggested that the general tendency of attributing the coins to Pratāpasimha and not to Jayadhvajasiṃha lies in the fact that Pratāpasimha, as Gait³⁹ explains, was known as *Buddhi-Svarganārāyaṇa*. This led scholars to believe that he minted the coins under a variation of the title.

Secondly, he adopted the chronology of the Ahom kings as given by Gait in his *History of Assam* and also supported Gait's conclusion that Pratāpasimha died in 1641 A.D. and not in 1649 A.D. as held by Kasinath and his followers. Moreover, Kasinath's book was published as late as 1844 and there is nothing to show on what his date was based. He also endorsed the views of Gait against Kasinath⁴⁰.

(ii) Shū-sheng-phā	1603	1524	<i>Fāluga</i> 7	38	5	3
(iii) Shū-hām-phā	1641	1563	<i>Syāvaṇa</i> 10	3	1	12
(iv) Shū-tyā-phā	1644	1566	<i>Bhādra</i> 22	4	1	14
(v) Shū-tam-lā	1648	1570	<i>Kārtika</i> 6	15	0	19
(vi) Shā-pung-mong	1663	1585	<i>Kārtika</i> 26	5	9	19

(See *HA*, p.102, Appd. A (ii), p358 ; *Assam Burañjī* recovered from the family of S. Mahanta (*AB (SM)*), ed. S. K. Bhuyan, 1960, pp. 36, 66; 70 ; *DAB*, pp. 42, 95 ; *Assam Burañjī* (*AB (SD)*), ed. S. Dutta, 1938, pp. 1, 20 ; *AB*, pp. 29—30, 33, 88, 92, 138—39, 159, 166 ; *Ahom Burañjī* tr. G. C. Barua, 1930, pp.82, 95, 126—27, 186 ; J. P. Wade, *An Account of Assam*, ed. B. Sharma, 1927, pp. 76—77 ; *Ms. Assam Burañjī*, No. 263, f. 9 ; H. D. Phukan, *Assam Burañjī*, 1369 B.S., p.35.).

35. *HA*, 1906, p.102.

36. He ruled from 1552 to 1611 according to Kasinath

37. *HA*, 1906, *loc.cit.*

38. *JPASB (NS, No.XXIV)*, Vol. X, p.457.

39. *HA*, 1906, p.103.

40. *JPASB (NS)*, Vol.X, *loc.cit.*

In the third place, he critically examined the suggestions of Allan and Stapleton who, on the strength of the coins issued in 1648, tried to prove that Gait was wrong in placing Pratāpasimha and Jayadhvajasinha in the period from 1603 to 1641 and 1648 to 1663 A.D. respectively⁴¹.

Even the assumption that Pratāpasimha, suggests Botham, lived upto 1649, is found disputed ; for, in a long reign of 38 years, he issued coin only in the year before his death, while the usual practice of the Ahom kings prior to Rudrasimha (1616-1714 A.D.) was to issue coins only in the year of accession.⁴²

Commenting on Stapleton's views regarding the religious leanings of the issuer, Botham suggested that the king who struck the coins belonged to the Vaiṣṇava sect whereas Pratāpasimha appears to have been a Śaivite. According to him, the coins were issued by Jayadhvajasinha⁴³ and his religious leanings is supported by his intimate connection with the great Vaiṣṇavite *satras* (monasteries) of Assam⁴⁴.

In the second edition of his *History of Assam*, Gait not only criticised the views of Allan who disputed his conclusion in regard to the dates of the Ahom kings, but also substantiated his arguments on the point⁴⁵ with the observation made by A. W. Botham on the basis of coins dated 1570 Śaka.

41. *Loc.cit.* We learn from the *Jayantiā Burañji* (JB) that Yaśamānika, the king of Jayantiā kingdom gave his daughter's marriage to Pratāpasimha in 1606 A.D. (see JB, ed. S. K. Bhuyan, 1964, pp.14ff.) and this goes against Kasinath's Chronology according to which Pratāpasimha ascended the throne in 1611. The king was Yaśamānika and not Dhanamānika as Gait pointed out (see RPHRA, p.18).

42. JPASB (NB), Vol.X, pp.457—58.

43. CPCCA, *loc.cit.* ; SCPCCA' *loc.cit.*

44. JPASB (NS), Vol.X, p.458. The arguments of Botham can further be supported by the native chronicles which afford ample evidence that Jayadhvajasinha was a devout Vaiṣṇava. He is said to have introduced certain amends for the misdeed and oppressions committed by Pratāpasimha on the Vaiṣṇavas. He also extended his catholicity towards the growth and development of Vaiṣṇava religion. This is attested by the establishment of two *Satras* (monasteries) at Jakhalābandha and Jātakarā by Jayadhvajasinha. Some thousand acres of land together with a few thousand *pāiks* (labourers were granted by him for the maintenance of the *Satras*. On the contrary, Pratāpasimha is described in the *Burañjis* as a devout Śaiva who is said to have persecuted the Mahāpūrṇiṭyas (a Vaiṣṇava sect) and encouraged the Śiva worship (see AB(SM), pp. 37-38, 63-64 ; JPASB (MS), Vol. VI, pp. 626-27, etc.).

45. HA, 1926, pp. 104-05, note.

From the above arguments, it appears that the coins dated 1570 Śaka (1648 A.D.) were issued by Jayadhvajasiṃha and not Pratāpasimha. The numismatic evidence also helped a great deal in determining the chronology of the Ahom king (ruled from 1552 to 1663 A.D.) given by Gait as correct and this was followed by the later writers on the subject.

Recently P. C. Chaudhury, while editing Kasinath's monograph, revived the old theory and, in presence of the aforesaid observations made by the two sections, attributed the coins dated 1570 Śaka (1648 A.D.) to Pratāpasimha. But his considerations are debatable on the following grounds :

In the first place, Chaudhury suggested that the *Burñajis*, both published and unpublished, do not contain an account that Jayadhvajasiṃha adopted the epithet *Svarganārāyaṇa-deva*⁴⁶ as occurred on the coins dated 1570 Śaka. On the contrary, the chronicles bear evidence that Pratāpasimha assumed the title *Buddhi-Svarganārāyaṇa*⁴⁷. There is, therefore, no difficulty in identifying in *Svarganārāyaṇa* with Pratāpasimha who seems to have adopted the title after dropping *Buddhi* on his coins⁴⁸.

Gait has already pointed out, the designation *Svarganārāyaṇa-deva* is a title and not a name⁴⁹. Therefore, Chaudhury's identification is a mistake. The term or its variant shorter form *Svargadeo* or *Svargadeva* was applied to all Ahom kings on account of their common descent from *Svarganārāyaṇa* round whose birth so many traditions have sprung. The contention of Chaudhury that Jayadhvajasiṃha did not assume the title *Svarganārāyaṇa-deva* appears to be untenable. In some of the epistles sent by the Koc king *Prāṇnārāyaṇa* to Jayadhvajasiṃha, the latter has been designated as *Svarganārāyaṇa-deva*⁵⁰.

Secondly, the minting of coins, observes Chaudhury, does not merely and invariable associated with the accession of a ruler to the *Singari-ghara*⁵¹ where the coronation ceremony⁵² was performed.

The argument of Chaudhury is also found disputed. The usual

46. *ABS*, Preface, p. 13.

47. *HA*, 1963, p. 103 ; cf. also *JPASB (NS)*, Vol. X, p. 457.

48. *ABS*, Preface, p. 14. According to Allan (in *NC*, Vol. IX, p. 301), Pratāpasimha, on his Coins used a third name *Svarganārāyaṇa* which appears to be wrong.

49. *HA*, 1963, p. 106, note 1 ; also his Appd. F.

50. *Kāmrupar Burāñjī*, ed. S. K. Bhuyan, 1958, pp. 69, 71.

51. *ABS*, loc. cit. ; cf. *AB (HB)*, p. 20.

52. For general outline of the ceremony see S. K. Das in *Itihāsa*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 46-47.

practice of the Ahom Kings prior to Rudrasimha (1696—1714 A.D.), as we have pointed out elsewhere, was to issue coins only in the year of accession. This is illustrated by all known coins of Cakradhvajasimha (1663—69 A.D.), Udayādityasimha (1669—73 A.D.), Shū-hung (1675 A.D.) and Gadādharasimha (1681—96 A.D.). But there was one exception only in the case of Shū-klen-mong (1539—52 A.D.), the first coin issuing king. His coin⁵³ dated 1543 A.D. was issued in his fourth regnal year. The late issue of the coin can be justified on the ground that he was the first of the dynasty to issue coin and his coin was dated from the year in which the innovation was introduced⁵⁴. As 1648 A.D. is the year given in almost all the *Burañjis* for the accession of Jayadhvasimha, it can be regarded that the coins under discussion were issued by him and not by Pratāpasimha, and it was most probably minted for the distribution on his coronation day.

In the third place, Chaudhury, in attributing the coins to Pratāpasimha, accepted the chronology of the intermediate kings (ruled from 1552 to 1663 A.D.) compiled by Kasinath as correct. According to him, Kasinath's chronology was most exhaustive and systematic in preparation of which the *Burañjis* written in Ahom and Assamese must have been consulted by the chroniclers concerned⁵⁵.

This view of Chaudhury also is not tenable. Gait⁵⁶ was the first to show that Kasinath, in preparation of the chronology, made a mistake, though he is said to have consulted all the records. The chronology compiled by him does not necessarily prove that the dates⁵⁷ given in all the existing *Burañjis* are incorrect. Further, his book was published, observed Botham,⁵⁸ as late as 1844 and there was nothing to show on what his date was based. The dates contained in the *Burañjis* are all in complete accord and their accuracy can be examined by reference to the Ahom-Mughul conflicts of 1615, 1637 and 1662 ; and their correctness in respect of other dates can also be relied on.

In the fourth place, Chaudhury contends that "the identification of *Svargañārāyaṇa* as occurring on the octagonal coin with Jayadhvasimha in order to find justification for acceptance of the second set of chronology seems to have made the controversy worse confounded"⁵⁹.

53. *JASB*, Vol. LXIV, p. 286 ; *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 298, pl. xxvii, No. 1 ; *NC*, Vol. IX, p. 300, pl. xxiii, No. 1.

54. *JPASB (NS)*, Vol. X, p. 458.

55. *ABS*, Preface, p. 13.

56. *HA*, 1906, p. 102.

57. See *Supra* note 34.

58. *JPASB (NS)*, Vol. X, p. 457.

59. *ABS*, *loc. cit.*

The above suggestion of Chaudhury is also debatable. We have elsewhere refuted Chaudhury's identification of *Svarganārāyaṇa* with a king as it was a title and not a name. As regards the second set of dates, Chaudhury refers to the date of the Ahom kings maintained by Gait in his *History of Assam* on the basis of the *Burañjis*. We have also pointed out that Gait's chronology is correct, who preferred to rely on the *Burañjis* than *Kasinath's* chronology.

Finally, in order to secure epigraphic support to his attribution of the coins to Pratāpasimha, Chaudhury⁶⁰ refers to the Phaṭāśil rock inscription⁶¹ of Gauhati. It records that the Barphukan who was the son of the Barbarua, after vanquishing the Musa'mans and taking many weapons, elephants, horses, etc., was installed Commander-in-chief in Śaka 1570. This was in the reign of Shū-Sheng-phā (Pratāpasimha) *alias Buddhi-Svarganārāyaṇa*.

But, on a careful examination of the text of the epigraph recently published under the caption 'Rock Inscription of the Victory of the Nāmjāni Barphukan, 1589 Śaka/1667 A.D.' by M. Neog, it appears that both Gait and Chaudhury are wrong.

This epigraph⁶² runs—

- 1 *Svasti* (//*)
Sakala-kalāpālingita-kalevara-vividha-vidyā-vidyoti-
- 2 *tāstarāṇa* (= *tāntaḥkaraṇa*⁶³)-*kali-kaluṣa-vinirmukta-*
kamanīya (*kamanīya*)⁶⁴-*guṇa-grāmābhirāma-*
- 3 *pratāpojvala-gajā-vāji-senādhipaḥ-parama-dhairyya-*
maryyādā (*maryā*)⁶⁵-*śau-*
- 4 *ryya-gāmbhīryya-pārāvāraḥ-śrī-Baḍabaḍuvātmaja-nāmajāni*
*(nāmajāni)*⁶⁶-*Śrī-Vrhat-Phu-*
- 5 *kkanah* (*Kkana*)⁶⁷-*jītvā-Yavana-saṅgrāmaṁ* (*iavanasaṁ+grāmaṁ*)⁶⁸-
vividha-śaṣṭrādi-gaja-vāji-senāpati-

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 13f, note 5a.

61. *RPHRA*, p. 4.

62. *Pracya-Śāsanāvalī*, ed. M. Neog, 1974, No. 10, pl. No. 4.

63. Reading of Neog. See *Intro.*, p. 146.

64. *Loc. cit.*

65. *Loc. cit.*

66. *Loc. cit.*

67. *Loc. cit.*

68. *Loc. cit.*

6 *prārambhamvireje-randhra-vajra*⁶⁹-*vāṇa-candra-śakkāla-jutaṁ-gata-braṣṇi* (?) *Śāka-kāla-yute gate varṣe* ?) || 1589 ||

The above reading of the epigraph proves that Gait, who did not mention the transcript of the inscription in his *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, but simply gave its English translation, was wrong in reading its date as 1570 Śāka.

He was also wrong in assigning the record to the period of Shūsheng-phā *alias* Pratāpasimha whose name does not occur at all in the text.

He did not utilise its evidence in the reconstruction of his *History of Assam*.

Further, the date of the epigraph, as read by Gait, does not tally with its content, as given by him. According to him, it refers to the promotion of the Barphukan who was the son of the Barbarua, in the reign of Pratāpasimha. Although Gait omitted the term *nāmjāni* (*raja*) by which the Barphukans of Lower Assam were commonly known from the mid seventh century, his content probably refers to the Barphukan who was no other than Lachit, son of Momai Tamuli Barbarua. History records that he was the first person, to be appointed Commander-in-chief in the reign of Cakradhvasimha (1663—69 A.D.) and that is supported by the present epigraph which is actually dated 1589 Śāka.

In the light of the new reading of the Phaṭāsil rock inscription (or the Rock Inscription of the Victory of the Nāmjāni Barphukan, 1589 Śāka/1667 A.D.), it becomes clear that the mistake was committed by Gait and perpetuated by Chaudhury.

The question why the coins dated 1570 Śāka (1648 A.D.) were issued without the name of the issuer remains still undecided. Some scholars are inclined to compare these coins with those of the Jayantiā kings, where the issuer is described by his title only.⁷¹ The minting of

69. The word *Vajra* does not stand for the numeral 'eight'. It seems to be a mistake for *Vasu*.

70. Reading of Neog, See *Intro.*, p. 146.

71. *JPASB (NS)*, Vol. X, p. 458. The circulation of the coins without the name of the issuer reminds us to a large number of copper-coins of the Kuṣāṇa period with the Greek legend *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas*, sometimes with Kharoṣṭhī legend *Maharajasa vajadirajasa mahatasa tratarasa* without mentioning the name of the issuer found all over Punjab, in Khandahar, and in the Kabul region and also as far as Mathurā in the east (see A. Cunningham in *NC*, 1890, pp. 115-16 ; R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I, 1971 (reprint), pp. 160-62 and note 2, pl. xvi ; B. Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kuṣāṇas*, 1967, pp. 49-52, 213-14).

coins by the Jayantā kings without the name of the issuer can be traced back to a tradition. Cilā Rāi, the brother and general of the Koc King Naranārāyaṇa (1560—84 A.D.) conquered Jayantiā kingdom and issued a proclamation prohibiting the Jayantiā kings to issue coins in their names⁷². Botham thinks that there might be some sort of stipulation imposed on the Ahoms by the Muslims after the conclusion of the treaty of 1639.⁷³ But this is a mere conjecture not supported by any evidence. The extant literary sources on the history of the Ahoms do not provide us with any information as suggested by Botham. However, the omission of the name of Jayadhvajasiṃha on the coins dated 1570 Śaka (1648 A.D.) can be explained in a different way. On account of the mention of the date 1570 Śaka, there should be no mistake about who the king was as the date mentioned in almost all the *Burañjis* as the commencement of his reign. Besides, he was the first of all the Ahom kings to accept the formal discipleship of a Hindu Gosāin,⁷⁴ to assume the Hindu name during coronation⁷⁵ and to introduce Hindu script into the legends of the coins.⁷⁶

In the light of what has been said above, we shall not be far from the truth if we accept the coins dated 1570 Śaka were issued by Jayadhvajasiṃha (1648—63 A.D.)

72. HA, 1963, p. 54 ; JASB, Vol. LXIV, p. 243.

73. JPASB (NS), Vol. X, loc. cit.

74. ABS, p. 32 ; (AB (HB), p. 47 ; SAB, p. 31 ; AB (SM), p. 74 ; H. D. Phukan, op. cit., p. 25.

75. AB (SD), p. 2 ; AB (SM), p. 70 ; AB (HB), p. 46 ; ABS, loc. cit. ; H. D. Phukan, op. cit., p. 35.

76. AB (SM), loc. cit.

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT IN INDIA, 1772—1858

CHITTARANJAN SINHA

Bengal was the first major territorial acquisition of the English in India. By virtue of a series of events between 1757 and 1765, the battles of Plassey and Buxar, a treaty with the nawab in 1764, and finally, the grant of the diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the Mughal emperor to the Company in 1765, the English became the undisputed masters of Bengal, which administratively included the provinces of Bihar and Orissa also. The Company's empire in India expanded rapidly thereafter in all directions. Through a long series of successful wars with the Mysore rulers, the Maratha chiefs, Nepal, Burma, Afghanistan and finally the Sikhs, and through the peaceful subjugation or annexation of the remaining Indian states, the English became the paramount rulers of the entire Indian sub-continent by 1856.

Bengal being their first major territorial acquisition, the Indo-British administration was first evolved there, after the Company's decision to assume the responsibility of the diwani¹ administration of the provinces in 1772, to which they had become entitled in 1765, but from which they had shirked for seven more years to come. The task of initiating the British administration over this vast area, fell upon Warren Hastings, the Company's Governor in Bengal from 1772 to 1786.

Although in his administrative set up, Hastings relied chiefly on the English servants of the Company, Indians were not completely excluded from the superior appointments. The administration of criminal justice and police had been left in the hands of the nawab and his employees, as the subjects of Nizamat administration. Even in the revenue administration, an exclusive subject of the diwani, Indians were retained on high positions like the *sadr kanungos* and the '*rai riyani*', the latter being a

1. Under the Mughal constitution the provincial administration used to be divided between the diwani and the nizamat. The former, under the control of the diwan, covered the collection of revenue and the administration of civil justice while the latter under the nawab, covered the executive and criminal judicial administration.

very important office of auditor of accounts, with a salary of Rs. 5,000/- per month, to which one Rajballabh was first appointed².

Though not born out of any racial prejudice, the gradual erosion of Indians from the administrative situations, however, had begun during Hastings's term. Thus, the office of the 'faujdar', the traditional executive officer in the district, was abolished by Hastings in 1781, and his magisterial authority made over to the European district judge.

The process of exclusion of Indians from superior administrative employment reached its climax during the succeeding governor-generalship of Lord Cornwallis (1786—93). Cornwallis was the architect of an ambitious scheme of comprehensive reform in the Indo-British administration, from which Indians were excluded from all but the lowest posts. This followed from his firm conviction that Indians, from their character and disposition, were unfit to hold any positions of trust or responsibility. Thus he wrote, "I conceive that all the schemes for the reform (of administration) would be useless and nugatory whilst the execution of them depends upon any Indian whatever..."³. Under the administrative set up created by him in 1793, jobs at the lowest levels only were left open for Indians as munsiffs in the judicial, kanungos in the revenue, and darogas in the police departments.

The Cornwallis system, with its bias against the association of Indians, was held in great esteem by the succeeding governor-generals of Bengal. With its adoption in Bombay in 1799, and in the Madras Presidency between 1802—4, the Cornwallis system came to govern the Company's possessions throughout India.

In its actual operation, however, the Cornwallis system ran into serious practical problems, on account of the almost exclusive dependence on the European officers, whose supply always lagged behind the demand. The greatest problems arose before the law courts, which were flooded with arrears of pending cases. Thus, by the end of 1804, the number of cases pending before the district judges' courts in Bengal was 15,291, with the result that suitors had to wait for about six years for justice⁴. To provide emergent relief to the over-burdened district judges, therefore, a superior class of Indian judges, called *sadr amins*, was created in 1803⁵. This deviation from Cornwallis policy of exclu-

2. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 416.

3. Letter from Bengal, 2 Aug. 1789, *Cornwallis Correspondence*-(ed.) Ross, Vol. I, p. 548.

4. Parliamentary Branch Collection of India Office Library, London, nos. 7-11.

5. By regulation 49 of 1803.

ding Indians from the posts of greater responsibility was merely a concession to practical necessity, and not the result of any disagreement with the master's doctrines, which dominated the administrative outlook in Bengal down to the end of the governor-generalship of Amherst in 1827.

But even Cornwallis's ideology did not go unchallenged. The overconcentration of authority in the European district judge, and the exclusion of Indians from the superior offices, were assailed by Thomas Munro, a Madras civilian, who during his stay in England on leave between 1807 and 1813, was able to lead the London authorities away from their faith in the efficacy of the Cornwallis system⁶. Munro advocated, "As much as possible the administration of justice should be thrown into the hands of the natives...."⁷. The directors, in turn, were persuaded not only by administrative exigencies and consideration of economy, but also by the political objective of preventing discontent among the Indians, and strengthening their loyalty to the British, to write to the Indian governments that, "there are considerations of general policy which would strongly recommend a liberal admixture of native with European authority in the magisterial department, as in the other departments of civil administration"⁸.

In accordance with such views, in 1814 the directors suggested to the Bengal⁹ and Madras¹⁰ governments a detailed plan of reform, which among other things provided for an extended employment of Indians in the departments of civil as well as criminal justice, by constituting all village heads as *ex-officio* munsiffs, and appointing at each district headquarter at least four superior Indian judges with wide civil as well as criminal jurisdiction.

In Madras the directors' plan was implemented in toto by 1816, under the personal supervision of Munro himself, sent out there for the purpose at the head of an administrative reforms commission. But the Bengal government were not as amenable to the drastic change proposed by the directors, on account of their deep commitment to the Cornwallis system. They loathed on the directors' repeated insistence¹¹

6. C. H. Philips, *The East India Company*, pp. 202-4.

7. Munro to Court of Directors, 10 Aug. 1813, Selection from the papers of the East India House, Vol. II, p. 105.

8. Judl. despatch from the Court of Directors of Bengal, 9 Nov. 1814, para 161.

9. *Ibid*

10. Judl. despatch from the court of Directors to Madras, 29 April, 1814.

11. The directors' insistence on the adoption of their proposals was conveyed in 1816. *Vide* Judl. despatch to Bengal, 10 April 1816.

on the adoption of their plan, by circulating queries to the concerned departments and officers to elicit opinions on the feasibility of the directors' proposals, and by waiting for a report on the practical working of those reforms in Madras¹². Finally, instead of creating any superior class of Indian judges, the Bengal government contented themselves merely with extending the jurisdiction of the existing munsiffs and sadr amins in 1821¹³ and in 1827¹⁴. But the deep-seated distrust of Indian judges prevented to a large extent the actual utilization of their extended powers under the above regulations. Specially nominated sadr amins had been authorised to try cases upto Rs. 500/- by regulation III of 1821, and upto Rs. 1,000/- under regulation IV of 1827. But enquiries made in 1827 and 1830 revealed, that few district judges had even referred such cases to the sadr amins authorised to try them. This led even the Bengal government to comment :

"Few of the judges, however, availed themselves of their services (*i.e.*, of the sadr amins with special powers) and we are sorry to observe an apparent disinclination among the Zillah Judges to entrust natives with the extended powers authorised to be vested in them"¹⁵.

The long-held official prejudice against the employment of Indians to superior posts in Bengal Presidency was given up to a considerable extent by William Bentinck, whose tenure of governor-generalship (1828—35) marks a fundamental break with the Cornwallis system and the administrative traditionalism it had come to represent. On the desirability of expanding the employment of Indians, Bentinck wrote to William Astell, Chairman of the Court of Directors : "I entirely agree with you on the subject of expanding the Indian agency. We cannot govern the country without them. The most we (Europeans) can attempt is control"¹⁶. Bentinck went on to enlarge the Indian association both in the judicial and revenue departments. A superior order of Indian judges, designated principal sadr amins, authorised to try original civil suits upto Rs. 5,000/- in amount or value, as well as appeals from the subordinate Indian judges, was established in 1831¹⁷.

12. This report was received in 1820, vide Bengal Civil Judl. Consultations, 24 March 1820, mos. 42-50.

13. By regulations II and III of 1821.

14. By regulation IV of 1827.

15. Judl. letter from Bengal to Court of Directors, 18 Aug. 1830

16. Bentinck to Astell, 8 June 1829, Bentinck MSS. Nottingham University Library.

17. By regulation V of 1831.

An officers' grade was opened for Indians for the first time, with the establishment of the post of deputy collectors in 1833¹⁸.

But even Bentinck does not appear to have outgrown completely his predecessors' prejudice against the quality and character of the Indian officers. His friend in Calcutta, James Young, once had to remonstrate with him against Bentinck's attitude :

"I have never ceased to ruminate on some things which fell from your Lordship on Saturday. One, in particular, both surprised and grieved me. It was the very contemptible opinion you expressed of natives as Munsiffs and Sadar Amens"¹⁹.

The charter act of 1833 removed the official taboo on the employment of Indians to the superior cadres, through its liberal provision that no Indian was to be disqualified from holding any office on the ground of his 'religion, place of birth, descent or colours'²⁰. To the extent of immediately throwing open all offices indiscriminately to the Indian aspirants, this pompous declaration was a complete farce. It did not, and it could not, result in any major extension of Indian association, because apart from the strong racial bias against them two major practical hurdles still blocked their way to the superior offices.

The first hurdle was the still valid clause of the charter act of 1793, which had ruled that only covenanted²¹ servants of the Company were eligible to hold posts carrying a salary of above Rs. 500 a year. Since all the superior posts in the district those of judges, magistrates and collectors—carried a much higher salary than Rs. 500 a year, Indians were legally debarred from them unless they could enter the covenanted service.

The second impediment to the implementation of the declaration of the act of 1803 was the lack of education, modern western English education, among the Indians. The directors themselves referred to it in clarifying the objectives of act of 1833 :

"It does not break down or derange the scheme of our government as conducted principally through the instrumentality of our regular (English) servants.....In every view

18. By regulation IX of 1833.

19. James Young to Bentinck, 4th July 1830, Bentinck MSS.

20. St. 3 & 4 William IV, C, 85, S, 87,

21. Convenants meant those who had entered into a contract with the Company before coming out to Serve them in India.

it is important that the indigenous people of India, or those among them, who by their habits, character or position, may be induced to aspire to (high) office, should as far as possible be qualified to meet their European competitors”²².

On account of the above two factors, except for the recruitment of Indian as deputy magistrates in 1843, no major expansion of Indian employment followed the charter act of 1833.

An official attempt was, however, made to develop for Indian's facilities for western English education, which from 1830 onwards “had been clearly declared a passport to government services”²². Before 1835, facilities for such education had been initiated on a small scale by the Christian missionaries as also by progressive Indians like Ram Mohan Ray. The foundations of the “Vidyalaya”, (later named the Hindu College, and finally the Presidency College), the Sanskrit College and the Bishop's College at Calcutta, and the Agra College, etc., represent the first concrete efforts made in the 1820's to provide facilities for western English education to the upper class Indians. After 1835, an official effort was made to develop these facilities on a much larger scale, one of its objects being to make the Indians eligible for the higher offices, to implement the declaration made by the charter act of 1833. The decision to concentrate on the development of western education through government-sponsored institutions had been influenced by T. B. Macaulay, then the law member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, who dreamed of creating through English Education a class of persons, “Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes in opinion, in morals and in intellect”²⁴. The directors also endorsed this decision as a necessary step for qualifying Indians to compete with the Europeans for the superior appointments.

Following the momentous decision of 1835, Anglo-Indian government schools, called Zila schools, were established at many district headquarters. A number of government sponsored colleges for higher education also came into being. In 1852 the Madras University High School was founded as a preliminary to the development of the Madras University. As early as 1845, the education council at Calcutta had proposed the establishment of a University at Calcutta, but the scheme found fulfilment only after Sir Charles Wood, the dynamic president of

22. Court of Directors to Bengal Government, 10 December 1834.

23. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. VI PP. 115-16.

24. Minute of Macaulay, 2 Feb. 1835, quoted from *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. VI, P. 111.

the board of control, pioneered a despatch in 1854, instructing the Indian governments to set up Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, to coordinate a "properly articulated educational system from the primary school to the University"²⁵.

The educational developments, more particularly after 1835, qualified many Indians for the academic standards laid down for the superior services. The only other remaining technical obstacle to the selection of Indians to the higher offices was the provision of the charter act of 1793, reserving all posts carrying a salary of over £500 a year for the English covenanted servants. This too became redundant with the institution of the system of competitive examinations, open equally to Indians as well as the British, for recruitment to the Indian Civil Service, by the charter act of 1853²⁶.

Did the development of the facilities of western education after 1835, and the institution of open competitive examination for the civil service in 1854, really open the doors of the top administrative service to the meritorious Indians? In theory, yes : but in practice, perhaps, no ! In the first place, few Indians had the capacity to undertake the hazards and the expenses of a journey to England, where the examinations were held. Secondly, available evidences point out that the authorities, despite their liberal declarations to the contrary, were for a long time disposed to keep the Indians out of the I.C.S. For example, Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, though having always advocated the employment of Indians to the superior administrative positions, rejected outright a proposal in 1861, to hold simultaneous I.C.S. examinations in India, for the convenience of Indians²⁷. When in 1863' the first Indian Satyendranath Tagore, successfully competed, the authorities were alarmed at the prospect of the exclusiveness (for the British) of that service being broken. Wood readily approved a proposal to reduce the total marks in Arabic and Sanskrit (by virtue of 75 % marks in which Satyendranath had competed), from 1000 to 500 only, to prevent Indians competing with that advantage in future²⁸. Critics pointed out that while provision had been made for the appointment of Indian justices—the High Courts, under the Indian High Courts Act of 1861, it was illogical to keep them out of the civil service much lower in rank. The authorities argued that as the Indian justices were to sit jointly with the British judges in the High Courts, the formers' errors could be corrected by the

25. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

26. 16 & 17 Vic.C. 95, SS. 36-42.

27. Moore, R. J., *Sir Charles Wood and India Policy*, pp. 102-3.

28. *Ibid.*

latter, but the Indian civilian bound to become a district judge could not be trusted with the supreme sceptre of justice in the district uncontrolled by any British superior on the spot.

It stands beyond doubt that the prejudice against the employment of Indians to the superior offices, held strong throughout the government of the East India Company, and until much after inspite of the provisions of the acts of 1833, and their high-sounding reiteration in 1858.

COMMUNICATIONS

A NOTE ON AN INSCRIPTION
FOUND NEAR MOUNT VERNON (AUSTRALIA)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

(Communicated in January, 1974)

About a decade ago an inscription was found on a mudstone cliff near Mount Vernon, which is about 250 miles east of Carnarvon and 800 miles north of Perth (Australia). Two photographs of this inscription were recently received by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. These reached Calcutta apparently from Mr. G. C. Rouhani, President of the Indian Cultural Society of Australia, and through the Indian High Commission in Canberra, and the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi. The General Secretary of the Asiatic Society has kindly forwarded these to me for my observations on the script used in the inscription.

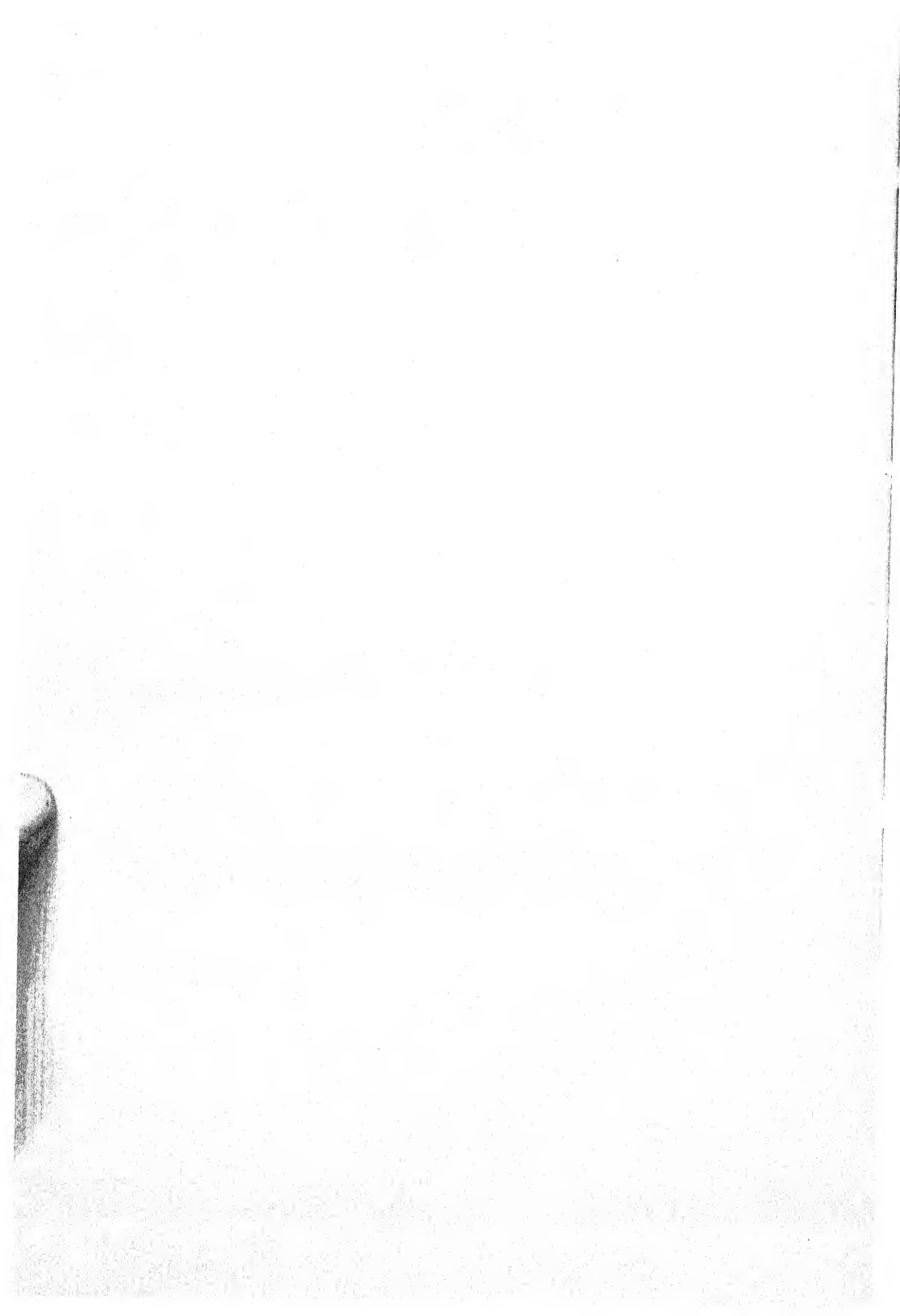
According to a copy of an extract from a letter by Mr. G. C. Rouhani addressed to the Indian High Commission in Canberra, 'the University of Ottawa, Canada, has identified the marking as ancient Sanskrit' (*sic*). G. C. Rouhani was, however, "struck by the resemblance of the markings to the Meiti script of Manipur".

The inscription, as it appears from the photographs, is in a very poor condition (fig. 1). It seems to be heavily mutilated. At least the photographs do not allow us to decipher and translate even a part of it. Nevertheless, some of the letters in the fourth line, which is the most prominent of all the lines of the inscriptions shown in the photographs, betray close resemblance to certain varieties of Brāhmī *sa, ta*, etc. The resemblance is so overwhelming that we cannot help suggesting that the inscription was written in a script which had been originally derived from a variety of the Indian Brāhmī alphabet.

It should also be recorded that a letter, which occurs twice in the fourth line and which consists of three vertical lines joined at the top by a horizontal line, can be recognised as one of the forms of the letter *ka* as employed in the Old Javanese or Kavi script. Similarly, the letter following the second *ka* can perhaps be



Inscription near Mt. Vernon (Australia)



identified as *ga* of the same script. The second or the third character in the sixth line looks like the upper part of a trident, with its three vertical lines ending separately, but at the same level. This characteristic can be noticed in *inter alia* a form of Old Javanese *ya* (D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, 2nd edition, p. 435).

It is well-known that the Old Javanese script developed from a variety of the Indian Brāhmī alphabet (*ibid.*, p. 423). This fact and also the above considerations tend to suggest that the inscription in question is written in the Old Javanese script. We may perhaps be permitted to guess that the language concerned was also Kavi or Old Javanese, for the writing of which the Old Javanese script was used.

The record is inscribed on a rock at a place which is quite far away from the sea-shore. It could not have been brought from outside, and must have been inscribed there by a person or persons, who were habituated to the use of the Old Javanese. This could have been possible only if there were maritime contacts between Java and Western Australia in an early period.

If the inscription can be properly read and translated, it may throw new light on the history of South-East Asia and Australia.

AN ILLUSTRATED BENGALI MANUSCRIPT OF THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA

(TENTH SKANDHA) dated Śaka 1611/A.D 1688

S. K. SARASWATI

(Communicated March, 1974)

Tāranāth, the Tibetan historian, has referred to an Eastern school of painting founded by two Varendra artists, Dhīmān and Devapāla. Documents of this school are available in a fairly large number of manuscripts from the close of the tenth century A.D. to the end of twelfth. (S. K. Saraswati, 'East Indian Manuscript Painting', *Chhavi*, 1972). The school, mostly, concerned with the onrush of Muslim occupation of the territory. A few illustrated manuscripts, Asiatic Society Ms. of *Pañcharkshā*, No. G. 4078, dated Śaka 1211/A.D 1289. Cambridge University Ms. of *Kālachakra Tantra*, No. Add. 1364, dated V.S. 1503/A.D. 1446 and a Ms. of *Kārandavyuha* in the collection of Haridas Swali of Bombay, dated V.S. 1512/A.D. 1455, reveal the survival of the style in an extremely decadent state till the fifteenth century.

The advent of Śrī Chaitanya and the rise of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism appeared to have afforded a new impetus to artistic and literary pursuits in Bengal. Of the former, numerous documents have been found and are preserved in private and public collections. These are mostly painted covers, unfortunately wrenched from their original contexts with the result that their dates are, in a manner, matters of surmise and speculation. The Asiatic Society has a Ms. of *Harivaṁśa*, copied in Śaka 1401/A.D. 1479, of which the covers only bear traces of illustrations mostly effaced.

In this situation the present manuscript, now in a private collection, gains a new dimension. It was copied in Śaka 1611/A.D. 1689 (*indvīndu shashthendu mite śakābde*). It was written on country-made paper and consists of 203 folios, measuring approximately 35 cm × 11.5 cm. Nearly half of the folios bear figural illustrations of the various episodes of Kṛishṇa's life as described in the *Bhāgavata*, while the remaining have floral, vegetal and other motifs. Besides, one wooden cover has illustrations on both sides. The paintings are in a simple and naive style, showing an economy in linear as well as colour treatment, and stand apart from the style seen in other documents. This fact and the definite date that it bears make it, perhaps, the most important document of mediaeval Bengali painting. In a manner, the illustrations seem to anticipate the style of subsequent Kalighat painting.

THAGORA ON THE GREAT GULF

B. N. MUKHERJEE

(Communicated in April, 1974)

The *Geographike Huphegesis* of Ptolemy includes in Serike a city called Thogara, the Thagouron oros and the people Thagouroi living to the east of the homonymous mountain (VI, 16, 2, 5 and 8). It is now well established that the names *Thogara*, *Thagouros* (<*Thagouron*) and *Thagouroi* can be philologically related to the name of the people called Tochari in classical sources (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. VIII, pp. 885 and 887-889). The Tochari were identical with or closely related to the tribe called Yüeh-chih in Chinese sources (B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāna Genealogy*, p. 26).

There are several sources which indicate trading activities of the Yüeh-chih people. K'ang-T'ai collected an information, apparently during his mission to Fu-nan in c. A.D. 245-50, about the Yüeh-chih merchants who used to import horses to the Ko-ying country through a sea route. P. Pelliot located Ko-ying in the littoral Malay Peninsula (*Étude Asiatique*, vol. II, p. 250). This and certain other data suggest Yüeh-chih activities in South-East Asia (B. N. Mukherjee, *The Economic Factors in Kushāna History*, pp. 37f).

An evidence of Ptolemy may be of importance in this context. The *Geographike Huphegesis* locates a place called Thagora on the Great Gulf. It is placed between the Great Cape, "where the Gulf begins" and Balonga, a metropolis (VII, 2, 7). The Great Gulf has been convincingly identified with the Gulf of Siam (S. N. Mazumdar-Sastri, *J. W. McCrindle's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, p. 204). The Great Cape may well be represented by the present Pt. Camau. The name of Thagora may be connected with that of the Yüeh-chih on the basis of the evidence of the Yüeh-chih's identity or relationship with the Thochari (=Thagouroi) and on that of the data suggesting activities of the Yüeh-chih in parts of South-East Asia.

It appears that Thagora, on the Gulf of Siam, might have owed its name to the activities of some Yüeh-chih traders in South-East Asia sometime before or during the period to which the relevant data of Ptolemy may be attributed.

A STATUE OF THE ACHAEMENID KING DARIUS I AND THE KUSHĀNA DYNASTIC ART

B. N. MUKHERJEE

(Communicated in May, 1974)

A

The Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran made a very interesting discovery in December, 1972, during an excavation in the neighbourhood of Apadāna at Susa in Iran. The excavation yielded an inscribed over-life-size statue made of local Zagros lime stone (*Journal Asiatique*, 1972, vol. CCLX, pp. 236-237). The sculpture bears Old Persian, Elamite, Accadian, and Egyptian Hieroglyphic inscriptions. The first three epigraphs refer to it as "the stone statue which was made by the order of the king Darius, the son of Hystaspes" (*ibid.*, pp. 249-250). One of the Egyptian inscriptions (no. 1B) refers apparently to the statue in question as that of "the Perfect God, Master of the Two Lands, eNT-R-Y-W-SH." i.e. Dārayavaush or Darius. Another Egyptian inscription (no. 3) explicitly speaks of the sculpture as "the image, made after the exact resemblance of the Perfect God, the Master of the Two Lands, which His Majesty has made so that his monument may be durably established and so that it recalls his person closely to his father Atum (i.e. so that his likeness may be placed near to that of his divine father Atum), the Heliopolitan lord of the two lands, Re-Harakhte, (and so that it may) stretch (i.e. last) up to eternity" (*ital. ours*) (*ibid.*, pp. 256-257). The epigraphic evidence thus proves that the image in question represents the Achaemenian monarch Darius (I), the son of Hystaspes. This effigy is, as it has already been pointed out, the first known free standing statue of an Achaemenian king (*ibid.*, p. 242).

The statue is carved out of a single piece of Zagros limestone. It stands on a rectangular base (1.043 m. long, 0.645 m. broad, and .51 m. high), and has an almost square pillar at the back. The portion of the statue above its breast is missing. The feet and the lower portions of the legs, covered by a part of the garment, have been found separated by a fracture from the other portion of the statue. The height of the extant portion of the sculpture together with the base is 2.465 m. (fig. 1).

The king is shown as standing in a frontal pose with the left leg advanced. The right arm and hand are placed straight and close to the body. The right hand holds a stave. The left arm bends at the elbow and the left hand grasps the stem of a flower. The monarch

wears a long robe with full sleeves and a broad belt. Each of the thickened belt-ties bears an Egyptian inscription (nos. 1a and 1b) mentioning the name of Darius (*ibid.*, p. 254). A dagger in a scabbard is thrust through the belt. The feet of the king are adorned with close fitting strapless shoes.

The pleats of the folds falling down below the belt-line are inscribed. The four pleats of the folds on the left side of the costume bear an Egyptian inscription (text no. 2). It refers to (eNT-R-Y-W-)SH. *i.e.* (Dārayava)ush as *inter alia* the king of the Upper and Lower Egypt.

The pleats of the folds on the right side of the costume bear Old Persian, Elamite and Accadian inscriptions. Though the contents of these epigraphs differ from one another in some details, all of them speak of Persian conquest of Egypt and state that "this is the statue in stone which Dārayavaush, the king, has ordered to be made in Egypt" (*ibid.*, pp. 249-250).

An Egyptian inscription (text no. 3), consisting of three lines, appears on the upper surface of the rectangular base and in front of the right foot of the king. This epigraph, noted above, seems to indicate, as suggested by J. Yoyotee, that the image of Darius was installed in some part of temple of Atum at Heliopolis in Egypt. (*ibid.*, p. 263).

A divine discourse (Egyptian inscription no. 4) is found inscribed on the two shorter sides (*i.e.* the front and the back sides) of the base. We can notice on each of these sides two genii, confornting each other. They personify the Upper and Lower Egypt (*ibid.*, p. 258).

The names of provinces in the empire of Darius I are inscribed on two longer sides of the base (Egyptian inscription no. 5a and Egyptian inscription no. 5b). Above the name each of the provinces appears a kneeling figure with half-raised hands. The name of Hindu is included in the list of subject territories (*ibid.*, pp. 258-259 and pl. IV).

The name of Darius is rendered as eNT-R-Y-W-SH in the Hieroglyphic inscriptions on the sculpture in question. Since this spelling of the royal name is not noticed in dated Egyptian inscriptions before the year 28 (of the reign of Darius I), the statue may be ascribed, following a suggestion of J. Yoyotee, to sometime in or after that year (G. Posener, *La Première domination perse en Egypte*, nos. 12-24 and 28f; G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions du Wadi Hammamat*, no. 109; *Journal Asiatique*, 1972, vol. CCLX, p. 266). In other words, the statue might have been made sometime in the last decade of the reign of Darius I (c. 522 B.C.-486 B.C.)

The Egyptian inscription no. 3 indicates, as noted above, that the statue was installed within the precincts of the temple of Atum at

Heliopolis in Egypt. But the statue has actually been found at Susa and is made of Zagros limestone used for other works at Achaemenian Susa. A block of Zagros stone might have been first installed at Heliopolis and later transferred to Susa. Otherwise we shall have to consider, following J. Yoyotte, that the inscribed statue was as an exact copy of an Egyptian original. This copy might have been made at Susa either by a local sculptor who knew the Egyptian original or by an Egyptian artist who had been familiar with the original sculpture. There is evidence of the movement of sculptors between Egypt and Susa and also employment of Egyptian artists at Susa during the period of Darius I (*Journal Asiatique*, 1972, vol. CCLX, p. 246).

Whichever of the hypotheses is correct, we can expect to see the influence of Egyptian sculptural technique in the statue in question. D. Stronach has observed that "the statue from Susa reflects the classical attitude of an Egyptian standing statue : a static, frontal pose with the left leg advanced. Even the introduction of a bent left arm (in place of two straight arms) appears to represent an established Egyptian solution wherever the left arm was required to hold a flower. The fact that the right hand grasps an emblematic staff is also significant, as is the sensitively rendered physiognomy of two of the kneeling figures on the left side of the base : that of the Egyptian (no. 20) and his neighbour, the Ethiopian (no. 22)." The rectangular base of the statue, the square pillar at its back and the stone support between the legs and behind the leading foot are comparable with similar elements in Egyptian statuary. (figs. 2 and 3) (B) Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, XXXIV-XXXVI, fig. 1 and p. 10 ; *JA*, 1972, vol. CCLX, p. 244 ; W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 244-245 and pll. 23, 169 (B), 177(a), 183(b), etc. ; *Encyclopaedia of the World Art*, vol. IV, p. 702-703, and pl. 386).

No doubt, the Persian style of wearing dress and Achaemenian motifs on apparels (like the herring-bone patterns on the belts, etc.) were understandably retained in making an effigy of an Achaemenian monarch. But the technique employed in preparing the first known free-standing statue of an early Achaemenid king suggests an Egyptian origin for this branch of Achaemenid art.

B

The frontal and static appearance of the statue of Darius I is comparable with the frontality and rigidity in the treatment of the statues of Kushāna kings and other important personalities found at Mathura (fig. 4) (J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans*, pp. 140f ; pll. 1, 2, 3 etc.). These portrait statues stand stylistically apart from the sculptures of the Mathura school of the Kushāna period which

are characterised by plasticity and flexibility in forms as well as ponderousness in volume. Frontality in art was, no doubt, not altogether unknown in pre-Kushāṇa art in India. But sculptural art of Mathura of the Kushāṇa age itself was characterised by physical grace and sensuousness, numerous attitudes and postures of the body and love for descriptive details which were all far removed from the idea of frontality. It, therefore, appears that the style and technique adopted for making the Mat portraits received guidance from some sources other than or at least in addition to the contemporary ateliers of Mathura (S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 67).

Among the sculptures of the Kushāṇa age a few likenesses of Kushāṇa kings and/or important personages discovered at and near Mathura (*DKA*, pp. 142-143), at different sites of the Swat region (*East and West*, 1958, vol. IX, pp. 294, 300 and 313, figs. 7 and 25) and at Surkh-kotal (in Afghanistan) are favourably comparable with the Mat portraits. These statues are, like the above mentioned portraits, static and frontal in appearance.

The Surkh-kotal statues bear some other stylistic features which betray influences of Achaemenid art (fig. 5). The heavy folds of the garments, falling straight down like pipes, and the folds on the dresses forming a kind of herring-bone pattern, are noticeable in Achaemenid sculptures as well as in the Surkh-Kotal statues (D. Schlumberger, *The Excavations at Surkh-Kotal and the Problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India*, pl. XIX, and p. 92 ; R. Ghirshman, *Persia*, figs. 216, 234, etc.). It is interesting to note that herring-bone patterns appear on the belt of the statue of Darius I.

The resemblances between certain features of the Achaemenid art and those of the Kushāṇa dynastic or imperial art are more than superficial. D. Schlumberger traced to the Achaemenid art the source of the strange architecture of the Surkh-kotal sanctuary, "intimately combining the use of mud brick, of timber, and of well-cut stone". The cella at Surkh-kotal, with its roof resting on four columns and surrounded by corridors on three sides, is comparable with that of the temple at Susa. The source of the plan and technique of construction of the stepped battlements at Surkh-kotal may be traced, according to Schlumberger, to the similar type of Achaemenid architecture (D. Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 92).

Similarly, the origin of the style and technique of making free standing statues of the Kushāṇa age may be traced to the Achaemenid art, which, in its turn, received the inspiration from the Egyptian source. The portraits of the Parthian period, like those found at Hatra, Shami, etc., which also reflect the similar frontal and rigid attitudes (*East and West*, 1960, vol. XI, pp. 135-81 ; *DKA*, pp. 163f.),

may, to some extent, mark an intermediate stage in the development of this art. It is interesting to note that the positions of the feet, turned sidewise, in Sürkh-kotal and Mat statues are more favourably comparable with those of some of the Hatra and Shami portraits (*DKA*, pp. 162h) than with those of the effigy of Darius I.

The above discussion leads us to a very interesting inference. It appears that the origin of the technique and style of making royal statues in the Kushāna age may be traced, perhaps through Parthian specimens, to the Achaemenian statuary and ultimately to the Egyptian art. This hypothesis may mark an important development in the study of the Kushāna art.

DARIUS I AND GADĀRA (GANDHĀRA)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

(Communicated in June, 1974)

The Egyptian Hieroglyphic inscriptions on the Susa statue of Darius I and its base spell the name of the Achaemenid king as *eN-T-R-W-SH*. Since this spelling of the royal name is not noticed in the dated Egyptian inscriptions before the year 28 (of the reign of Darius I), the statue may be ascribed, following a suggestion of J. Yoyotte (*Journal Asiatique*, 1972, vol. CCLX, p. 226), to sometime in or after that year. In other words, the statue might have been made or at least inscribed in the last decade of the reign of Darius I, who ruled from c. 522 B.C. to 486 B.C. (J. B. Bury, *et al.*, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. IV, p. 174-177).

The Hieroglyphic inscriptions (5a and 5b) on two longer sides of the rectangular base of the statue state the names of twenty-four provinces of the empire of Darius I. The subject territories are enumerated as Persia, Media, Elam, Aria, Parthia, Bactriana, Sogdiana, Arachosia, Drangiana, Sattagydia, Khorasmia, (the country of the) the Sakas of the Seas and Sakas of the Plains, Babylonia, Sardia, Cappadocia, Skudra, Eshur, Hagor, Kemi, the country of the Tjemhou (Libya), the country of Nehsy, Maka, and Hi(n)du.

It is interesting to note that Gadāra or Gandhāra is not included in the above list, though it is referred to in the Behistan inscription of Darius I as one of the countries which "came to him" or "obeyed him", (R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar, Text, Lexicon*, 2nd edition, p. 119). On the other hand, the Behistan inscription does not include Hi(n)du in the list of his subject territories. Both Hindu and Gadāra are mentioned as parts of his empire in a few of his records. Including one of the inscriptions at Persepolis (*ibid.*, p. 136).

The Behistan epigraph, with the exception of its fifth column, is assigned to a period between c. 520 B.C. and 518 B.C., and the Persopolis record is considered to have been carved between c. 518 and 515 B.C. (E. J. Rapson, editor, *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 334-335). It appears that that Gadāra or the Gandhāra region had become a part of the Persian empire even before the reign of Darius I (J. B. Bury *et al.*, *op. cit.*), or at least it was annexed to the dominions of Darius I earlier than his conquest of Hi(n)du *i.e.*, Hindu or India, denoting the lower Indus area (*Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, August, 1966, p. 5). The Indian conquest of Darius I is generally dated to c. 518 B.C. (*CHI*, p. 335; E. Herzfeld, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 24, p. 2; see also H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, p. 240).

Whether such a dating for the conquest of Darius I is acceptable or not, the data furnished by Herodotus (III, 89, 95) and few epigraphs of Darius I from Naqsh-i-Rustam, Persipolis (no. E) and Susa (nos. E and M) prove that at least for some time both Gandāra and India (mentioned by Herodotus) or Gadāra and Hi(n)du (referred to in the inscriptions) were under the Achaemenid monarch. Hence the absence of the name, of Gadāra from the list of his subject territories in one of the inscriptions on the Susa statue, datable to the last decade of his reign, may pose a problem. Does it mean that Darius I lost Gadāra, *i.e.*, Gandāra or Gandhāra, at least for some time during the last decade of his rule ?

It should, however, be pointed out that one of the Persipolis inscriptions (no. II) of Xerxes (c. 486-465 B.C.), the successor of Darius I, includes both Hi(n)du and Gadāra in the list of the territories in his empire. Hence, the omission of the name of Gadāra from the list of the territories ruled by Darius I might have been accidental. Otherwise, it was also possible for the area of Gadāra to become, for a certain period, a part of some other satrapy. One may also suggest that Xerxes should be considered to have reconquered Gadāra, even if it had been lost by Darius I.

The third hypothesis receives some support from the evidences of revolts by some subject—territories and their re-annexation to the Achaemenid empire. The testimony of the above mentioned Persēpolis inscription of Xerxes is also important in this regard. According to this epigraph, Xerxes said that when "I became king, there is among these countries (*i.e.*, *subject—territories including Gadāra and Hi(n)du* which are inscribed above. (*one which*) was in commotion. Afterwards Ahura-Mazda bore me aid ; by the favour of Ahura-Mazda I smote that country and put it down in its place. And among these countries there was (a place) where previously *daivas* were worshipped. Afterwards, by the favour of Ahura-Mazda I destroyed that sanctuary of the *daivas* and I made proclamation 'the *daivas* shall not be worshipped'. Where previously demons were worshipped, there I worshipped Ahura-Mazda and Arta reverent (*ly*)" (*Italics ours*) R. G. Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 151). Xerxes might have here alluded to Gadāra of Gandhāra, which was one of the few regions of the Persian empire where *devas* could have been worshipped.

If the omission of the name of Gadāra or Gandhāra from the list of subject-territories of Darius I furnished in two of the inscriptions on the Susa statue was not accidental, or was not due to its inclusion in in some other satrapy, then he should be considered to have lost control over it at least during the last decade of his reign, Gandhāra might have revolted against the Achaemenids. Xerxes reconquered it.

RARE LION-COINS OF JALALUDDIN MOHAMMAD SHAH OF
BENGAL INCLUDING A UNIQUE HEXAGONAL VARIETY

G. S. FARID

(Communicated in July, 1974)

Sultan Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah (817-35/1414-31) of Bengal issued a large number of coins in different ornamental designs displayed on the margin and in calligraphy, varying from crude to fair types, some being executed in the ornate Tughra style of writing. He also revived the Kalima legend which was abandoned for the preceding two centuries. However, the most outstanding amongst all his coins is the one which depicts a lion emblem executed in linear sketchy drawing giving a crude appearance. The coin first came into light in 1918 along with 345 coins discovered from the wall of a deserted house in the village of Ketun, under the Rupgunj Police Station in the District of Dacca¹.

All such coins bearing a lion figure are round in shape. The present author has in his collection a coin bearing a similar device but hexagonal in shape, the only specimen known.

A passing reference has been made to the same coin by V. Chowdhury and P. Roy in the Addendum of the Journal of Ancient Indian History, Vol. V, Parts 1-2, 1971-72, page 376, in connection with their description of the coins of Ratnamanikya and Dhanyamanikya of Tripura. Again in connection of Tripura coins, the above authors have wrongly described the same hexagonal coin, which is now in my possession, as octagonal in shape, published in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Part 2, 1972, page 227.

The reasons for Jalaluddin adoption of the symbolic figure of lion were probably political, the lion symbolizing his might and superiority over rivals—an emblem of sovereignty. But at the same time it is interesting to note that the lion is the divine symbol and mount of Heramba, the Nepalese form of Ganesa². We do not know if Jalaluddin's immediate successor, Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah issued any symbolic coins but at least Nasiruddin Mahmud issued a number of such coins, one with lion figure representing valour and bravery, another with small circlets representing whole world and yet another, a Chhatra³ type representing kingship. Fath Shah also issued coins with lion figure⁴.

1. N. K. Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology of the early Independent Sultans of Bengal*, page v.

2. Encyclopaedia of World Art, Volume III, p. 829.

3. In the author's collection.

4. In possession of Champaklal, a coin dealer of Calcutta,

There are 3 types of lion-coins—

Type 1—The coin described and illustrated by Bhattasali in his book is a silver coin in round shape. (Plate 1).

Type 2—Another variety of this coin has a similar legend but slightly larger in size than the above. (Plate 2).

Type 3—A unique variety in hexagon shape having the same legend as above. The condition of the coin is excellent, the details clear and the legend legible. The description of the coin is as follows :—

Wt. 10 gms. (approx.).

Size 2.8 cm.

No mint. No. date.

Obverse—In hexagon enclosure.

Jalal/al-Duniya wa al-Din/Abu al-Muzaffar/Muhammad Shah
al-Sultan.

Reverse—In scalloped convex hexagon enclosure.

Figure of a lion facing right.

On top—Bin Ganes Shah—(Plate 3).

A comparative study of the three coins reveal the following facts :

1. In Type 1, the lion is in an upright position as if it has been thrust into the prescribed space of the coin. In Type 2, the drawing of the lion is different, here the teeth are clearly incised giving a ferocious appearance. The head is bigger and breast heavier than the other two types, and this clearly seems to be the work of a different artist. In Type 3, the figure has a very close resemblance to Type 1 but slightly bigger in size horizontally. It has no similarity with the figure in Type 2.
2. Calligraphy in Type 1 and 3 is identical and in Type 2 is different. At the obverse of Type 1 and 3, the triangular formation of the letter Za (ز) of Muzaffar, Ta (ط) of Sultan, the single stroke formation of Shin (ش) of Shah and its three dots placed in a line and the blunt-end points of the vertical strokes, show the angular character of the script similar to Kufic. Though the writing is in Naskh but the rendering is more angular than cursive. Type 2 is in Naskh style.
3. All the lion-coins are undated. The absence of Khalifa legend and the mention of parentage in these coins lead to the conclusion that the coins were struck during the very early period of his reign. The rarity of these coins further prove that a very small number of these coins were struck for a very brief period and then the animal figure was abandoned probably on religious grounds.
4. The legend is same in all three coins. As for the reverse which bears the lion figure and the paternity of the Sultan, a doubtful reading



Plate 1



Plate 2

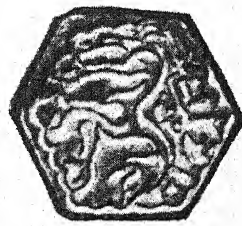


Plate 3



Plate 4

LION COINS OF JALALUDDIN MOHAMMED SHAH



was suggested by Bhattasali. According to him, it is 'Bin Kāns Shah'. He writes, "The reading is not very satisfactory as Alif (ا) of Kāns (كانس) is detached from Kaf (ك) and the letters Kaf (ك), Nun (ن) and Shin (ش) are written together in a flourish"⁵.

From the above description, it is evident that Bhattasali meant 'Kāns' and the separation of Alif (ا) was not clear to him. From the photograph of the coins (Type 1 and Type 2) as well as from the study of my own hexagonal coin, it appears that the word is either Kans (کنس) or Kanes (کنیس) which is actually Ganes or Ganesh, both are same because the upper stroke mark of letter Gaf (گ) is often not written. Alif (ا) thus seems superfluous; it may be of some ornamental value, like other dots and dashes on the coin⁶.

The historians have also cited the name as Ganes in their work. Blochmann⁷ mentions that "Raja Kans is styled Raja Bhatouriah and Raja Ganes, Raja of Dinajpur". Westmacot⁸ identified Raja Kans with Raja Ganes, though the Muslim historians like Ferishta, Minhaj and Gholam Hossain described him as Raja Kans or Raja Kāns. Nizamuddin Ahmed; the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, mentions one Rai Ganesh, a courtier of Barbak Shah of Jaunpur, as Kanes (کنیس)⁹.

Bhattasali while describing his coin writes, "Figure of a lion running to proper left made up of lines and curves which might be construed into Tughra letters".

There are two points which are to be considered here :—

1. "Figure of the lion running to proper left"—but in photograph of his book, Plate X, the figure is facing right instead. Hence it seems to be an error of description.

5. Coins and chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal, page 132.

6. O. Cordington, the author of *Musalman Numismatics* writes, In ornamental writing the top letter (ا) is often curved over and lengthened into a curve or loop, and where the legend is arranged in arabasque or fancy pattern it is often misplaced from its proper position in the word or slanting or even omitted an Alif in another place doing duty for it also." The author further writes, "on coins which are ornamented, as many are, by dots and group of dots, it is not very easy to tell which are for use and which are for decoration, a difference in size or shape will however, often indicate this. The vowel marks are almost always omitted as in ordinary writing. The group of three dots in Pe (پ), Chim (چ) and Shin (ش) may be arranged in a line."

7. Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal, (Reprint) page 150.

8. Calcutta Review, No. CX, October, 1872.

9. Cf. N. B. Roy, Niamatullah's History of the Afgans' Santiniketan, 1958 p. 71, fn. I.

2. In Tughra style of writing, generally a sentence from the Quran or the name of a person is written in such an ingenious manner that it takes the form of a bird or an animal. The figure of the lion on the coin has been executed in linear drawing and not by lettering.

It will not be out of place to mention here that an interesting modern forgery has been noticed with the lion facing left instead of right in the round type. (Plate 4).

AN INTERESTING BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTION FROM SANNATHI (GULBARGA DISTRICT)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

(Communicated in July, 1974)

Ruins of a Buddhist stūpa were found sometime back at Sannathi, 25 miles from Chittapur in the Gulbarga district. Sculptured stone slabs, *āyaka* pillars, etc., found at the stūpa site, are now partly preserved in the precincts of a local temple (*Artebus Asiae*, 1972, vol. XXXIV, pp. 169-70). It has been observed that the sculptural style betrayed by the sculptured panels, recovered from this place, is similar to that of the art of Amaravati and of Nagarjunakonda (*ibid.*). Dresses, ornaments and certain stylistic traits, displayed in these sculptures, are comparable with those noticed in several reliefs at Begram, Mathura, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda (For an example compare *ibid.*, pl. 2 and 8b with S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, figs. 58, 67, 10 etc.)

Some of the *āyaka* pillars and stone slabs bear Brāhmī inscriptions. One such inscribed stone slab, found at the stūpa site, forms the subject of our communication. This epigraph, written in the Prakrit language and the Brāhmī script, is, like some other inscriptions discovered at Sannathi, palaeographically datable to the Late Sātavāhana age. The inscription can be read as *Rāj(ā)machasa Gaganakasa bhāriyā(ya) Rāj(ā)machayā Rāmasiriya* (or *yo* ?) (*Artebus Asiae*, 1972, Vol. XXXIV, p. 170 and pl. 22). It may be translated as “of (or by) Rāmaśrī, the *Rājāmātya* (or *Rājāmātyā*), the wife of Gaganaka, the *Rājāmātya*.” The inscribed slab was obviously the donation of Rāmaśrī, who, like her husband, assumed the title *Rājāmātya*.

The title *Rājāmātya* may mean ‘a minister’, ‘a companion of a king’ or ‘an inmate of a royal household’ (M. Monier—Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1951, p. 81). It is, however, not clear whether Rāmaśrī was herself a *rājāmātya* or she merely used the title of her husband, perhaps to indicate her social or socio-political status.

It appears from a few epigraphs of the Sātavāhana and Ikshvāku periods that the wives of Mahasenapatis bore the title Mahasenāpatinī (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 94; Vol XX, p. 18). Similarly in some Ikshvāku records the spouses of Mahātalavaras were given the title *Mahātalavarī* (*ibid.*, p. XX, pp. 16, 18, 20 and 21). On the analogy of the meanings of *ācharya* and *ācharyānī* respectively as a lady teacher and

wife of a teacher (Kātyāyana, *Vārttika*, IV, 1, 48-49), the term *mahāsenpatinī* may be interpreted to denote the wife of a mahāsenāpati. On the basis of this evidence, the title *Rājāmātyā* may mean a female minister, etc. Such an interpretation may suggest that women of the Sātavāhana age sometimes participated in administration. However, since Rāmaśrī, is explicitly referred to as the wife of a rājāmātya, we need not stress this point too far.

DĀYADĪPIKĀ—A NEW TEXT ON DĀYABHĀGA BY A BENGALI WRITER

HERAMBA CHATEERJEE SASTRI

(Communicated in June, 1974)

Of the eighteen titles of law (vyavahārapada) mentioned by Manu (VIII. 4-7), that relating to the partition of wealth (Dāyabhāga) occupies a very important position. That may explain why a good number of writer on digests (nibandhas) have devoted greater attention and space for discussions on the topics relating to Dāya. On this issue two principal schools have been developed, one represented by Vijñāneśvara in his commentary on the Yājñavalkyasmṛiti, and ably followed by the writers of Benares school, Mithilā school, Bombay school and the Madras school, and the other by Jimūtavāhana and followed by Raghunandana and Śrīkṛṣṇa Tarkālaṃkāra. In the colophon of his Dāyabhāga, forming a part of the Dharmaratna (which has not yet been unearthed) Jimūtavāhana states that his text is intended to remove the doubts created through the interpretations of previous digest-writers :

Bahuvidha-pūrva-nibandha-vyākhyā-saṃjāta-saṃśayasyaitat ।

Jimūtavāhanakṛtaṃ prakaraṇam apanuttaye dhyeyam ॥

Raghunandana has his commentary on the Dāyabhāga itself. He felt like composing the Dāyatattva, an independent treatise to present in short the nature of Dāyabhāga :

Nirupyante'tra saṃkṣepād dāyabhāgavinirṇayaḥ ।

The Dāyakramasaṃgraha of Śrīkṛṣṇa Tarkālaṃkāra is a significant contribution in this line.

Of several digest-writers of post-Jimūtavāhana period, mention should be made of Śrī Vidyānidhi Bhaṭṭācārya, author of the Dāyadīpikā and several other text of the Dīpikā series, namely, Sambandha-dīpikā, (complete—eight folios) ; Tithi-dīpikā (incomplete, folios—79 ; Prāyaścitta-dīpikā (incomplete—folios,—28) ; Vivāda-dīpikā (complete—folios—28) ; Śrāddha-dīpikā (incomplete—folios, 50) and Śuddhi-dīpikā (incomplete—folios—32).

The Dāyadīpikā of Vidyānidhi is a short text containing twelve folios only (measurement—15½×3 inches ; six lines in a page ; written in ornamental old Bengali character in country-made paper) and is dated as being copied in Śakābda, 1560=1638 A.D. This has been brought to light through the efforts of Śrī Haripada Bhaṭṭācārya, collector of manuscripts, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta. This has not yet been taken notice of by the scholars working in the field and therefore may claim distinction as a new discovery.

Regarding the contribution of Vidyānidhi in the concept in Dāya and its division, it may very briefly be stated that except in the cases of Dāya and Bhāga he does not demonstrate any special approach to the questions concerned. He himself states in the introductory verse that he presents the Dāyadīpikā very briefly :

Kṛṣṇaṃ praṇamya manvādi-sāstrāny ālokyā yatnataḥ ।
Vidyānidhir vitanute saṃkṣepād Dāyadīpikāṃ ॥

He begins his text with a reference to the verse of Devala (pitary uparate putrā vibhajeyur dhanam pituḥ, etc.) and explains in the line of Jimūtavāhana that both the terms are to be accepted as taken in the figurative sense : 'pituḥ putrā iti sambandhimātropalakṣaṇam.' His definition of the term Dāya is more or less the same as that of Jimūtavāhana : 'Tena yatra dravye pūrvāsvāmīnor maraṇapātityāśramāntara-gamanopekṣābhīḥ svatvadhvaṃse yasya tat-sambandhādhiṇaṃ svatvaṃ taṃ prati nirūḍho dāyāśabdaḥ.'

Bhāga has been explained by him as an act favourable to the ascertainment of ownership :

Bhāgaḥ svatvanirṇyānukūlo vyāpāraḥ'. (Cf. Raghunandana's commentary on Dāyabhāga for the same line). He shows boldness to advocate the ownership of the sons on the total property, which later on becomes specified on a particular portion.

Sa ca pitrāder maraṇādīnā svatvoparame sambandhāviśeṣat sarveṣāṃ sambandhādhiṇaṃ sarvadhanopajātasvatvasya guṇikāpātinā amukasyedam iti prādesīkavyavasthāpanam.

This has the similarity with the view expressed by Vijñeśvara :

Vibhāgo nāma dravyasamudāyaviśayānām anekasvāmyānām tadeka-deśeṣu vyavasthāpanam (on Yāj. II. 114). Raghunandana's definition of Vibhāga and the concept of ownedness have been presented almost in the same language as that of Vidyānidhi (vide Dāyatattva, p. 5). The view of Jimūtavāhana as recorded in the Dāyabhāga, in favour of ownedness in respect of a portion only prādesika-svatva), has been refuted here almost in the same language as that of Raghunandana in the Dāyatattva (pp. 4-5). He appears to refer to Raghunandana in this respect as we gather from the line : 'gurucaraṇā apy evam'.

In other topics relating to division of the Dāya and the like, Vidyānidhi does not show any originality. In respect of Strīdhana he refers to the verse of Manu and Kātyāyana (M.S., IX. 194 and Kātyāyana, 894) explains after Vijñeśvara that number six in respect of Strīdhana is not final and should be treated as the lower limit :

Saḍvidham iti nyūnasamkhyā-vyavacchedaparam.

He explains Adhāvāhanika type of Stridhana as having reference to the property obtained by the woman at the time of her return to her father's house (dvirāgamana) after marriage : Dvirāgamanakāle yal labdham tad adhyāvāhanikam ity arthaḥ.

The text comes to an end after a very short reference to the types of sons.

As already indicate earlier, the text does not furnish information which are of special value but it deserves notice as a text of a Bengali writer of later period attempting to continue the academic pursuits in Bengal in the field of Dharmaśāstra after Jīmūtavāhana and Raghu-nandana.

SAMBANDHA-DIPIKĀ, A TEXT ON MARRIAGE BY VIDYĀNIDHI

HERAMBA CHATTERJEE SASTRI

(Communicated in August, 1974)

In the field of Nibandha-śāstras (digest-texts) those relating to marriage occupy positions next in importance to those composed on inheritance. It is of interest to note that in Bengal several digest-texts on marriage were composed. Within the present resources of our knowledge we find texts composed on marriage by Bhavadeva, Śūlapāṇi, Śrīnātha, Raghunandana, Gopāla and others, to mention only a few. This tradition was maintained to such an extent that even the celebrated logicians like Jagadīśa and Gadādhara wrote two very small texts on marriage. The store-house of the Nibandhas on marriage has been further enriched through the composition of a small text entitled Sambandhadipikā by Vidyānidhi Bhaṭṭācārya.

The text opens with a verse of salutation to Kṛṣṇa :

Natvā kṛṣṇapadadvandvam aravinda-manoramam ।
Vidyānidhir vitanute dhāraḥ sambandhdipikā ॥

The author speaks of five types of relationship (sambandha) ; 'Tatva sambandhaḥ sapinḍa-samānodaka-sagotra-pitrbandhu-mātṛbandu-bhedāt pañcavidhaḥ.' Of them he defines after analysis of the text of Matsya-purāṇa, the relationship of Sāpinḍa thus :

"Gotraikya sati ekadeya-pinḍa-tallopeṣu dātṛtva-bhokṛtṛvānyatatratve sati saptāntargatatvam." Again on the basis of the text of Yama (samānodaka-bhavas tu nivartetā caturdaśāt) the relationship of Samānodaktā has been interpreted in the following way : 'gaṇanā-pratīyoginam ādāya caturdaśaparyantaṁ samānodaktā'.

Without making any reference to the Udvāhatattva of Raghunandana by name, Vidyānidhi defines marriage as of the nature of acceptance leading to wifehood in accordance with the rules laid down in the Vedas :

sa ca vedabodhita-dāratva-sampādaka-svikāraviśeṣaḥ. (2cf. bhāryātva-sampādaka-grahaṇaṁ vivāhaḥ-Udvāhatattvam). More specifically he states that the actual definition should be—'svikāraviśeṣaḥ'. In the pattern laid by Raghunandana, the writer takes up the verse of Manu (asapinḍa ca yā mātūr asagotrā ca yā pituḥ, etc.) and explains all the implications of the same. He refers by name to Śūlapāṇi as the author of the Sambandhaviveka and as the writer of the Dipakalikā (a commentary

on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti). He makes mention of Miśra (Vācaspati Miśra) as the author of the Dvaitanirṇaya. The text though very small is complete, ending with the colophon :

iti Vidyānidhi-Bhaṭṭcārya-viracitā sambandhadīpikā samāptā.

It is indeed interesting to note that the writer does not at all care to mention the name of Raghunandana though the text is strictly on the same design as that of the Udvāhatattva. It therefore presents a problem of antiquarian interest.

AN INTERSTING COIN OF A PARTHIAN (?) RULER CALLED BANNEGA

B. N. MUKHERJEE

(Communicated in September, 1974)

There is an interesting silver coin in the collection of M/s. A. and R. Singhis of Calcutta. It can be described as follows.:

Metal base silver ; shape intended to be round ; size—20 m.m. (diametere).

Obverse—A bearded bust to left, having hair done in Parthian style and wearing a diademed fillet around the head. The face is partly in incuse, probably on account of its having been pressed by a smaller punch some time after the coin had been originally minted. A short Pahlavik or Parthian legend which can be noticed beside the head and on the margin of the coin. It can be read from outside and from right to left as *Sa (Sha ?) Banaga*, (meaning “king (?) Banaga”).

Revers—A male figure sits to right on a throne and holds a bow. A legend in corrupt Greek characters appears on three sides of the enthroned figure. The only legible word in the whole legend is *BANNEGA* (1), inscribed above the head of the enthroned figure. It seems to refer to the king concerned, mentioned as Banaga, in the obverse legend.

The obverse and reverse types appear to have been copied from well-known coin-types of the Imperial Parthians (W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXIX, no. 1, 6, etc.). The Arsacid influence is also manifest in the style and form of inscribing the reverse legend. The coin seems to have been struck on the weight standard of later Parthian drachms (W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIV).

The coin appears to have been minted by a ruler called Banaga or Bannega on the model of an Arsacid specie. And since the Pahlavik legend began to appear on the Imperial Parthian coins only from the period of Vologases I (A.D. 51/52-79/89), the coin in question should be dated to or after his age.

The relation between Banaga and the Arsacids is not known. So, also we do not know whether he was in any way connected with the rulers of the group of Gondophares I, who imitated identical Arsacid coin-types in the Seistan region (B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, p. 235).

The name *Banaga*, however, suggests, though does not necessarily prove, that the ruler concerned was a Parthian or at least an Iranian. He probably struck coins sometime about or after the age of Vologases I and in an area where the Imperial Parthian Drachms bearing the devices in question had been in circulation. It is not clear whether he was an independent king or had to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of an Arsacid overlord.

Only three coins of this ruler have come to the notice of the present author. One of them is in the British Museum, which has been wrongly attributed by A. Simonetta to the Indo-Parthian King Pakores (*East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, pl. IV, no. 8). A. K. Markoff published another piece (*Monnaies Arsacides inédites* (in Russian), pl. IX, no. 8). But he could not correctly read the name of the ruler. Markoff, however, was the first scholar to recognise the issuer as a Parthian ruler (*ibid.*, p. 42). The coin under review was briefly noticed elsewhere by the present author (B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 238). It is now fully described and discussed for the first time.

The coin in question is one of three known specimens of the coinage of a Parthian (?) ruler of about 1st century A.D. (fig. 1.) This fact alone, if not anything else, underlines its historical importance.

SOME UNRECORDED AND RARE COINS OF SULTANS OF BENGAL IN MY COLLECTION

G. S. FARID

(*Communicated in September, 1974*)

The unrecorded varieties of the coins of the following Sultans of Bengal are described herewith :—

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah—836-64/1433-59

Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah—899-925/1493-1519

Sultao Alauddin Firoz Shah - 938-39/1531-32

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah—968-71/1561-63

NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD

None of the Sultans of Bengal had issued so many varieties of coins as this Sultan. Of the several pictorial coins he issued, one is the Chhatra¹ or parasol type, which is an emblem of kingship, not to be found in any of the coins of the Muslim rulers, prior to his reign. It seems to be an imitation of Gupta coins, the motif was later on adopted by the Oudh kings also. Unfortunately, the coin is in a poor state of preservation ; the legend, the mint-name and the date are not clearly legible. Only the last letter of the date is visible, which is 6 (six). In view of the parasol motif, it may be presumed that the coin was struck in 836 A. H., when he ascended the throne.

The description of the coin is as follows :

Metal—Silver

Size—2.4 cm

Weight—12 grams

OBVERSE—In a circle with a parasol in the centre

Nasir al-Duniya / Wa al-Din Abu (al-Muzaffar)/Mahmud Shah
(al-Sultan)

REVERSE—In a circle

Al-Mu(aiyad ba-Tayeed)/ al-Rahm(an) Khali(fat Allah) / bil-
Hujjat (wa) al-Burha(n)

Date,— —6 ; Mint—Illegible Plate 1 (Enlarged)

(The writing is crude and spelling incorrect.)

ALAUDDIN HUSAIN SHAH

Some of his coins bear Kalima legend, while others have long titles covering both obverse and reverse. The half coins of the Sultans

1. A Chhatra type coin in gold is in the collection of Mr. H. P. Poddar of Calcutta. Plate 1(a).



Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3



Plate 4



Plate 5

RARE COINS OF SULTANS OF BENGAL



of Bengal are generally rare, the two pieces of Husain Shah are as follows :

1. Metal—Silver
Size—2.0 cm
Weight—7 grams
OBVERSE—Appears to be in plain area
Kalima legend
Mint—Probably Fathabad
Date—..9
REVERSE—Appears to be in plain area
(Ala) al-Dun(iya) / (Wa al-)—Din Abu alMuzaffar Hus(ain)—
(Sh)ah al-Sultan Khallan Allah / (Mul)kuhu (Wa Saktanathu)

The above Kalima type of coin is different in lettering from the other recorded types of the same legend. Plate 2 (Enlarged).

2. Another unrecorded type is the half-rupee coin of Alauddin Husain Shah being described here. The top portion of the legend at the obverse is, unfortunately, very much worn-out, while much of the inscriptions at the reverse, though legible, have been cut out. The legend of the coin is quite different from the legends of the recorded types. The expression, "Ba-Inayat Allah" (By the favour of God), at the obverse is clear and new. Karim mentions a coin with the expression, "Ba-Ayanat Allah" with the legend different from this coin.¹ "Ba-Inayat" is quite distinct, as the dot of Nun (ن) is apparent.

A notable variance in inscription at the reverse, is observed in the use of epithet in the name of Alauddin's father, that is contrary to the practice followed in most of his coins, which is "al-Husani," this coin bears the name "Husain" and not "al-Husani".²

The description of the coin is as follows :

- Metal—Silver
Size—1.8 cm
Weight—7 grams (approximately)
OBVERSE—Plain area
.....(Not legible)
.....(Not legible)
Ba-Inayat Allah Ala/
(a)l-Duniya wa al-Di(n)/

1. Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal Type 8, page 108 "Ayanat" in Karim's reading "Ba-Ayanat Allah" appears to be meaningless. The expression should be transliterated as "Bi-Pūnat Allah" meaning "By the assistance of God". In one of the coins of Alauddin Ali Shah, the expression, "Ba-inayat-al-Rahman" is used.

2. I. M. C. Catalogue Coin no. 189, bears the name "Husain".

Abu al-Muz(affar)
 REVERSE—Plain area
 Husain—Shah/
 a(l)-Sultan B(in) Sye(d)/
 (A)shraf Husain/
 (Khallad A)llah (Mu)lkahu
 No date, No. mint. Plate 3 (Enlarged).

ALAUDDIN FIROZ SHAH

Son of Nusrat Shah, Alauddin Firoz Shah ruled only for one year, until he was killed by his uncle, and replaced by his younger brother, Ghiyasuddin Mahmud.

The unrecorded variety of the coin of this Sultan is described herewith :

Metal—Silver
 Size—2.5 cm
 Weight—12 grams
 OBVERSE—Double circle with dots in between
 Al-Sultan/
 Bin al-Sultan Ala/
 Al-Duniya wa al-Din/
 Abu al-Muzaffar
 REVERSE—Double circle with dots in between
 Firoz Shah Sultan/
 Bin Nusrat Shah Sultan/
 Bin Husain Shah Sultan/
 (Khallad) Allah Mulkahu was Saltanathu.
 9..
 No mint-name.

The peculiarity of this coin is that an extra expression of "Bin Husain Shah Sultan" and "wa Salta nathu" are added to the recorded type.³ Plate 4 (Enlarged).

GHIYASUDDIN JALAL SHAH

He succeeded his brother, Bahadur Shah, who died in 968/1560 at Gaur. His reign was short-lived lasting only three years. All his recorded coins bear the date 970H. The coin presented herewith, besides having a different legend, is dated 971H/1533 A.D., the year in which he died. Moreover, the size of the coin is smaller, as compared with the known types.

The description is as follows :

Metal—Silver

Size—2.4 cm

Weight—12 grams

OBVERSE—In square enclosure

Kalima

Al-Sultan al-Adil—(in separate enclosure)

Margin—Name of four Caliphs

REVERSE—In square enclosure)

Jalal Shah/

Ibn Mohammad Shah Sultan/

Khallad Allah Mulkahu/

Wa Saltanathu .71

Margin—Lettering if any is illegible. Plate 5 (Enlarged).

AN INTERESTING STONE PLAQUE FROM WARSALIGANJ (GAYA DISTRICT)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

(Communicated on December, 1974)

A small stone plaque, made of sandstone and measuring 9 mm × 9½ mm, was found by S. S. Banerjee (of the Dhanbad District) a few years back at a place called Warsaliganj in the Gaya district of Bihar. Mr. Banerjee has kindly permitted me to notice this plaque.

The plaque shows three figures. The central figure is that of a male, sitting to front and cross-legged upon a raised platform or a block of stone. His two hands are held against the chest with tips of the thumb and the forefinger of each hand united. There is a halo behind his head. He is flanked on either side by a female (?) attendant standing to front, in a *tribhaṅga* pose, upon a full blown lotus. The half-raised right hand of the attendant on the left of the central figure holds probably a *chowri*. Her left hand rests on the left thigh. The attendant on the right of the central figure holds the stalk of a lotus by her half-raised left hand. Her right hand holds a club (?) resting on the right thigh. Each of the attendants has a nimbus behind her head.

The physiognomical and some other details of all the three figures are now effaced. This makes a study of their stylistic features a little difficult. Nevertheless, the graceful treatment of the slender form of the body of each of the female attendants, standing in a *tribhaṅga* pose, allows us to compare it favourably with several female figures in stone dated stylistically or otherwise to the 11th or 12th century A.D. [R. C. Majumdar, editor. *The History of Bengal* vol. 1, pp. 542-544; figs. 165, 166, 168-170, 180, etc.]. Hence this plaque may be stylistically dated to c. 11th or 12th century A.D.

The central male figure, whose hands are shown in *Dharmachakra mudrā*, may represent either Gautama Buddha or Vairocana, one of the *Dhyani Buddhas*. The plastic representations of Vairocana show his hands in the same gesture. (B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd edition, p. 54). As the plaque does not at present show the *vāhana* of the central figure, we are not certain whether the central figure represents Gautama or Vairocana (whose *vāhana* is a pair of dragons or gryphons).

The plaque is reported to have been found at a ruined Buddhist site. It apparently formed a part of some sculptural panel or was one of the *dadoes* adorning the base of a *stūpa*.

The most interesting feature of this plaque is the appearance of a nimbus behind the head of each of the attendants. This feature, noticeable in some pre-Pala and in many early Pala sculptures, appeared less frequently in the period to which the plaque is dated (R. D. Banerjee, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, pl. I, no. c ; IV, no. a ; see also pl. XII, no. d ; etc.).

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

DIAGNOSTIC CONSIDERATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIAN SURGERY (Based on Nidana Sthana of Susruta Samhita) : Edited by G. D. Singhal, L. M. Singh and K. P. Singh, Institute of Medical Sciences, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi 5 (India), 1972, with a Foreword by Professor Adalberto Pazzini. Pp. XXIV+250. Price Rs. 25.00, 15.00 and £ 3.00 for the standard, paper back and overseas editions respectively.

Of the three classical treatises (samhitās) of the Ayurvedic System of Medicine of ancient India, Susruta's Nidāna Sthāna or Surgical Diagnosis is excellent and superb and has been accredited as an epitome of knowledge unsurpassed by any other ancient treatises on Greek or Unani Medicine. Attempts no doubt have been made by some scholars, Indian and foreign, to translate this unique sanskrit medical literature into English for dissemination to the world. But unfortunately some of them have been entirely unsatisfactory as they were haphazard or incomplete from one point of view or other and particularly because of a lack of modern scientific medical bias.

So the present work edited by Dr G. D. Singhal with the collaboration of two other co-editors who are all not only well qualified and versed in modern medicine and surgery but also possess a fair amount of knowledge of sanskrit, which surely make them more competent to do the job better than their predecessors, appears to be a more reliable and useful contribution. Moreover the editors have tried to identify some of the diseases mentioned in the Samhitā by sanskrit nomenclature, from their descriptions with signs and symptoms with some of the diseases mention in the modern western medical sciences, although undoubtedly in some cases there are distinct lacunae so that such identifications are probable rather than definitely identical. Despite this such attempts are no doubt laudable. Other merits of the work are short summaries in the beginning and suggestions regarding scope of research at the end of each chapter. But there are difficulties as the causes of Nidana of all the diseases mentioned in the Samhitā, according to the Ayurvedic Medicine are based on *Tridosha* comprising of *Bāta*, *Pitta* and *Kaffa*, either singly or in combination of two or all the three together.

Modern medicine being far advanced as to causal factors of diseases, like microbes, viruses etc., cannot be satisfied only with meta-

bolic or other causes due to any or permutations or combinations of the the *Tridosha* complex unless the roles of *Bāta*, *Pitta* and *Kaffa* individually are fully discerned and interrelated to the hypo or hyperactivity of some organs or some particular deficiencies recognized by the modern medicine. But still the value of the work depicting early history of medical literature of India cannot be overlooked. So Dr. Singhal and co-editors deserve our congratulations for bringing out this translation of the *Nidāna Sthāna* of the *Suśruta Saṁhitā* in the present useful form, which may be certainly taken as a complement of the earlier excellent translation of Dr. Hornele under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, three quarters of a century ago. It is hoped that like this Book III (*Nidāna Sthāna*) other books of the *Samhitā* will be published soon to make the laudable work complete.

The printing of the original sanskrit text with its English translation on good paper with scanty printing mistakes and its presentable get up speak of the excellence of the performance of the publisher as well as the printing press. We hope that the book will receive the welcome and praise it deserves from the erudite scholars and research workers all over the world.

R. K. PAL

PĀDACANDRIKĀ. A commentary on the Nāmaliṅganuśāsanam of Amara (Amarakoṣa) By Rāyamukūṭa (Text and the Commentary) Volume two. Edited by Kali Kumar Dutta Sastri. Pp. 1—820, 821-828, Index 829-933. Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1973.

Sanskrit lexicography—Vedic and Classical—may be studied in distinctive stages from the Samāmnāya (commonly known under the name of the Nighantuḥ or Nighantavaḥ, circa Sixth century B.C. to the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam (commonly known as the Amarakoṣa) circa Sixth century A.D. From the 7th century A.D. to the 19th century a number of original compilations and of commentaries of lexicons were published in India. The Tikās of Amarakoṣa are numerous : those by Kshirasvāmin, Sarva-nanda, Rāyamukūṭa and Rāmāśarmā are most important, the book under review makes available the commentary of Pādacandrikā on Amarakoṣa by Rāyamukūṭa in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series. The present work maintains the high standard of its predecessor, Volume one.

In dealing with Sanskrit lexicography—etymological analysis of homonyms and synonyms, evaluation of compound words and context—one must take note of the critical appreciation of Sanskrit Text and Commentary since the appearance of the St. Petersburg Dictionary by Böhlingk and Roth and subsequent compendiums by Monier-Williams and Cappeller.

'The main concern of the Padacandrikā is the etymology of words in connection with some particular imports.' p. xiv. This estimate of the Editor is not wholly correct. If the Explanations applied to only some particular words of the Ten Bargas, not *inter alia* to all, the commentary would lose in value and usefulness. After the labours of Grimm, Pott, and Bopp, in the department of Philology and Lexicology, vague conjectures suggested by external and accidental coincidences have been substituted by elementary principles, based upon prevailing analogies of articulate sounds and the grammatical structure of language. In this direction the Vergleichende Grammatik of Professor Bopp of Berlin (1845) offers us immense help : In Comparative Philology and Lexical studies, it may be assigned place corresponding to that of "Newton's Principia in Mathematic, Bacon's "Novum Organum in Mental Science, or Blumenbach in Physiology."

A. BANERJI SASTRI

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE BRIHATSAMĪHITĀ by J. F. FLEET, edited by Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, pages XIII & 112 and a map, Published by Semushi, 42/1A, Sarat Bose Road, Calcutta-20, first edition, May, 1973 ; Price Rs. 12.

In recent years a few pioneer research works of the nineteenth century have been reprinted. Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta places before us the reprint of a long article by J. F. Fleet entitled *The Topographical List of the Brihatsamīhitā*, which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXII in 1893, along with his annotations.

Dr. Dasgupta briefly reviews the life and works of Fleet in the introductory pages. He finds that Fleet was sometimes "imprecise" but not "incorrect" (Intro. p. VIII) in identifying place names. Dasgupta gives an illustration from Fleet's view on *madhya-deśa*. But there are occasions when he differs from identifications proposed by Fleet. For example, while Fleet locates Vokkāṇa as a people in western division (p. 109), Dasgupta identifies the place with Wakhan. Similarly, Dasgupta rightly points out that ancient Gandhāra comprised Rawalpindi and Peshawar districts (p. 38) and Fleet wrongly equates with modern Kandahar. Incidentally it may also be pointed out that Fleet has not at all mentioned more relevant facts about some people. He neither states that a Dāmara lived in Kashmir nor a Malla in Kushinara and Pava. He also failed to locate Gonarda. This place is thrice mentioned by Varāhamihira (*Bṛhatsamīhitā*, IX, 13, XIV, 12 and XXXII, 22).

The annotations of the editor of the book under review are very useful. In many cases where Fleet has been vague or silent, Dasgupta is more definite, as for example, on Sindhu-Sauvira, Kośala and Koṭivarsha (p. 55), Kukura (p. 56), Madhyadeśa (p. 60), Madhyamikā (p. 61), Madra (p. 62), Mārttikāvta (p. 67), Paraṭa and Paraloka (p. 77), Samataṭa (p. 86), Strī-rājya and Suhma (pp. 90-91), Tāmralipti (p. 96), Taṅgaṇa (p. 97) and Yaudheya (p. 110). The suggested identification for Manahala is Manali in the Himachal Pradesh (p. 66).

Another remarkable feature is the attempt by the editor to spot out the earliest reference to a place or people in original texts, as for example, regarding Ikshvāku (p. 44), Matsya (p. 69), Mahāmeru (p. 69, f. n. 80), Pulinda (p. 80), Sālva (p. 86), Samataṭa (p. 86), Takshaśilā (p. 95) and Trigarta (p. 98).

If brevity is the quality of an author, the editor deserves congratulations. In few sentences he discusses the location of Āryāvarta (p. 19), Madhyadeśa (pp. 60-61), Mālava (pp. 64-65), Samataṭa (p. 86) and Uttarāpatha (p. 101) in different ages and texts. With equal precision

he locates Himavat (p. 43), Madhyamikā (p. 61), Paraṭa (p. 77), river Sarasvatī (p. 87), Śibi (pp. 88-89), Sūlika (p. 91) and Yaudheya (p. 110). The inclusion of map at the end of the book has further enhanced the quality of editing of the valuable article of Fleet.

The publisher deserves thanks for bringing out this handy and highly informative work at a moderate price.

B. P. MAZUMDAR

VISHNUDHARMOTTARA-PURĀṆAM (Chitra-sūtram). Edited with a Hindi translation by Asoke Chatterjee Sastri. Varanasi Rs. 7'25

Encyclopaedic in character, the *Vishnudharmottara-Purāṇa* (composed and redacted sometime between fifth and seventh centuries of the Christian era), deals with, among other things, painting and sculpture. It is divided into three parts (*khaṇḍa*) and its last part contains a mass of materials pertaining to plastic activities in ancient and mediaeval India. The section on painting, entitled 'Chitrasūtra' (chapters 35-43), belonging to this third *khaṇḍa*, gives an exhaustive treatment of painting and sculpture practised in bygone days. The value of this section is enhanced by the prescription it contains regarding the foreshortening (*kshyayavṛiddhi*). Incidentally, the word *chitra*, as the present *Purāṇa* indicates, was applied not only to painting but to sculpture as well.

Dr. Asoke Chatterjee hence deservedly claims appreciative thanks from his readers for bringing out a critical edition of this valuable section of the *Vishnudharmottaram*. The attention of scholars to 'Chitrasūtra' was first drawn by Stella Kramrisch in 1924 when she published her English rendering of the same along with her notes and annotations. Kramrisch's monograph is not available now. In 1958 Priyabala Shah published a critical edition of the text of the entire third *khaṇḍa* and in 1961 she brought out another volume comprising her critical discussion and interpretation of various topics covered by the text. Both these volumes were published in the Gackwad Oriental Series from Baroda. Dr. Chatterjee, while preparing his edition of the 'Chitrasūtra', used the works of his *pūrvasūris* along with the manuscripts forming the basis of their editions, has utilized two more manuscripts, not consulted by them. These manuscripts (marked as *cha* and *chha*) are now preserved in the collection of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi, Chatterjee's edition is based on altogether five manuscripts : two of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona), one of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay) and two of the above-noted Sanskrit University. The present editor has thus been able to note a few more variants in reading and on occasions he has suggested some improvements in textual reconstruction.

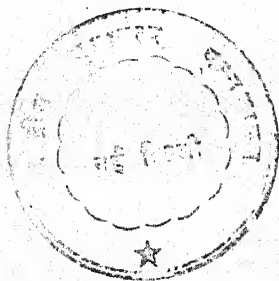
In a short 'introduction', written in Sanskrit, Dr. Chatterjee has collected a good deal of references pertinent to the subject, tracing the antiquity of the art of painting to remote days. The medium of his expression can be understood even by layman with a minimum knowledge of Sanskrit. The 'introduction' is undeniably useful and informative. The lucid and graceful Hindi rendering of the 'Chitrasūtra' by a Bengali editor is also a decidedly creditable performance. The value of the present edition is further enhanced by sketches and photographic

illustrations delineating some of the theories of painting dealt with in the work.

The present edition of the 'Chitrāsūtra' amply deserves perusal along with the works of Kramrisch and Shah. We hope it will be welcomed by scholars and practising artists and particularly by the educated Hindi lay readers.

KALYAN KUMAR DAS GUPTA

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